

escalate the protests in the run-up to the Twelfth of July celebrations this Friday with the aim of paralysing North-ern Ireland by the weekend if the RUC does not agree to let the Garvagby Road parade

If the plan succeeds, if will be the largest challenge to the civil authorities since the Ulster Workers' Council strike brought down the Northern Ireland power-sharing executive in 1974.

Police threw up a barricade of barbed wire half a mile long through the fields at Portadown to prevent being outflanked while the Orange. Order mobilised their members throughout the Province. Stones were thrown at police lines and a teenager was arrested. Later, the Democratic | strip.

angemen to complete their 189-year-old traditional route back from church into the centre of Portadown.

So far this year, however, there has been absolutely no Victory for Krajicek, but evidence of a mood of compro mise on the part of any of the protagonists, who have all had months of planning time in which to prepare for what it wasn't only

the rain that seemed last night to be a long and volatile confrontation. turned the The Orangemen hope to ex haust the resources of the RUC, but the force - which Wimbledon

came close to collapse during last year's three day stand-off men's final - has prepared for a lengthy into rather a security operation. Helicop-ters ferried fresh supplies and damp squib personnel to the scene throughout yesterday, using a playing field as a landing

Richard Krajicek enjoys his moment of triumph at the end of yesterday's Wimbledon men's final PHOTOGRAPH. TOM JENGIS

'HE most rain-inter- | skies cleared, and then the rupted Wimbledon of recent years got the damp squib final it deserved yesterday when the unset Dutchman Richard Kraiiek won a one-sided singles final in straight sets, writes John Duncan. A pre-match centre court streaker at least gave the crowd something to think about during the frustrating rain breaks as Krajicek made easy work of the American Malivai Washington. The first set took barely half an hour before the covers came on at 1-1 in the second. But Washing-ton lost that 6-4 once the

6ft 7in Dutchman picked up 14 successive points in the third set to finish off his opponent. "I can't quite believe it yet," said Kraticak, who collects £392,500 for the win to take back to his withdrew before the tournament. Monte Carlo home. "For a while I wasn't sure the match was really over and I wondered whether I was making a fool of myself -

but it was true." Krajicek had his huge 137 mph serve to thank for the win, with 14 aces taking his total for Wimbledon to 147. Washington's

£192,250 second prize ought | Reports pages 14-15

to make his plane journey ome tolerabi **Krajicek** joins Boris Becker as only the second unseeded player to win Wimbledon, though Kraji-cek had a seeded place in the draw, replacing the No 2 Thomas Muster when he

Krajicek defeated the holder Pete Sampras and the former champion Michael Stich to get to the final. "I was surprised I wasn't seeded," he said. But I think maybe II be seeded next see seeded next year.

Survey reveals extent of Church schism on gays

Madeleine Bunting Religious Affairs Editor

WO THIRDS of the General Synod believe that the Church of England's current position on homosex-uality — whereby practising homosexuality is tolerated amongst laity but not clergy - smacks of double standards and is incoherent, according

to a Guardian survey. Of members of Synod, the governing body of the Church from 1980 to 1991. of England, more than half (70 per cent of clergy members and 45 per cent of laity) said that they knew of clergy who were practising homosexuals.

THE C

the subject will be in mem-bers' minds after bitter de-bate provoked by plans for a think the Church should not be ordaining them and more than half of Synod do not festival of gay and lesbian Christianity with a celebra-tion in Southwark Cathedral in November to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Les-bian and Gay Christian even consider that being a practising homosexual is compatible with Christianity. The survey comes only weeks after Lord Runcle ad-mitted he had followed an ap-Movement proach of "don't ask, don't tell" towards ordaining homo-More than half of those who responded to the survey said they want the subject dissexuals during his time as Archbishop of Canterbury

cussed in Synod within the next five years. But the indi-cation is that this might lead Synod members are due to to a toughening of the Church's stance, rather than meet at the end of this week any further liberalisation.

tion of practising

Nearly a third of Synod members considered they had a responsibility to report members of clergy who are practising homosexuals to the bishop, although another third endorsed a Runcie-style 'don't ask, don't tell' approach

A spokesman for the Church of England admitted that the number of Synod members who know actively homosexual clergy was "surprisingly high".

He added: "This is a com-There is a hefty majority (73.9 | plex issue and people are very | it warned that with 70 per per cent) against the blessing | confused and divided over it. | cent of clergy knowing prac-

Church is illustrated by the | bated until the autumn. But | of homosexual marriages and | Hopefully the ongoing debate | tising homosexuals who are fact that more than two thirds | the subject will be in mem | 62 per cent are against ordina | in the Church will help to | ordained, the problem was as-

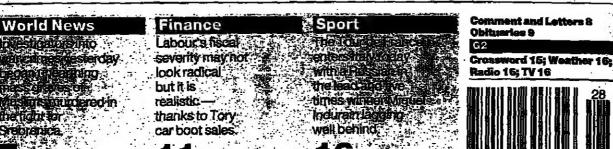
clarify matters." But the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement claimed the figures show a steadily increasing support. "We are enormously encouraged. Thirty per cent believe the Church should be ordaining practising homosexuals. Ten years ago, people said we would never achieve that kind of figure, and that it was

cloud cuckoo land." Reform, the evangelical grouping, claimed that the findings, demonstrated that the majority still believed ho-

mosexuality to be wrong. But too low.

Suming "acute proportions". Phillip Hacking, chairman of Reform, said: "I have to use the word split. People can't continue in a church where the leadership won't bite the bullet. The Church has to stand by biblical authority." Seventy per cent responded to the survey from the Houses of Laity and Clergy which ac-count for the bulk of the 575 members, The 53 members of the House of Bishops were excluded from the survey results because their response rate (24 per 'cent) was

Details, page 5



decisions.

members' attention to the po-tential effect on the South Mandela swansong, page 5

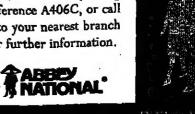
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in York, and a private member's motion on the subject, which has gathered 140 signathe confusion in the tures, is unlikely to be de-🖉 Britain

The Guardian Monday July 8 1996 2 NEWS Strange love, or how I learned not to worry

Lincoln Cathedral is riven by controversy, but with hostilities in abeyance yesterday's service contained talk of making accommodation, despite hints of divine irony



David Ward

HE only person who can sack the war-ring Dean and Subean of Lincoln Cathedral appears to be the Almighty. He, working in his usual mysterious way, is saying nothing; but he does appear to be dropping some pretty big hints.

Some of those who yesterday took their places for wor-ship in the cathedral's late 14th century oak choir stalls may have wondered whether they might see a display of div ine power such as the conflagration that engulied York Minster, allegedly in reponse to the appointment of a controversial Bishop of Durham.

Perhaps there was an awful warning in verse 18 of psalm 77 sung by the choristers (14 boys and 10 men) at matins: The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven, the lightnings

lightened the world, the earth trembled and shook." Those with long memories may even have recalled the great Lincoln earthquake of 1185, which destroyed much of original Norman cathedrel But the earth did not shake

esterday; there were no flames of retribution, no thunderbolts. So, for the time being, it remains up to mortal men to sort out a problem which has run for seven years, and which, according to some gloomy insiders, could last for all eternity. Last week the Archbishop

of Canterbury, who described as a scandal the feud between the Dean, the Very Rev Brandon Jackson, and the Sub-Dean, Canon Rex Davis, urged both men to go quietly.

Canon Davis has refused and has promised to tell us why this week; Dean Jackson is seeking guidance in prayer. Yesterday was a working day for Canon Davis, and he offici ated, in a cape of green and embroidered cream, at a sung eucharist and preached at matins, pausing between ser-vices for refreshment with communicants in the coffee

His only direct reference to natte the events deplored by his own bishop was in the Chapter newsletter: "Given the unt of media attention to



Cloistered calm at Lincoln Cathedral, but an ecclestatical row rumbles on behind the scenes PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS THOMONO

Lincoin this week, you will be munion service yesterday, the fifth Sunday after Trinity: "Be relieved to know from the start of this letter that, the ye all of one mind, having Dean being on holiday, the Sub-Dean will not make any compassion one of anoth love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous, not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing for the reference to the The Almighty, however, ... For he that will love life,

and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, was having nothing to do with this no comment stuff. Listen to the epistle read at the comand his lips that they speak no

valls? The first line of one spoke of peace but was set to the tune associated with Fight the Good Fight. The third verse of another referred to the storm o'er us and the dark clouds before us

guile ... " And what of the hymns that echoed round those ancient limestone

Number 458 tells us that

Christ sends forth to us priests to consecrate the world of time (and not, one may infer, to have extended punch ups with each other). All this surely proves that the Good Lord has a finely developed ense of irony. Many of the faithful are

understandably keeping their heads down. One finished his

ost-eucharist coffee and headed out past the statue of Lord Tennyson (a local lad). casting behind him a master-piece of understatement. "The cathedral manages extremely well, but you would be blind not to notice certain frictions

at the top." Charles White, who comes almost every week with his wife, Pamela, refused to condemn either turbulent priest "Good luck to them. They are not doing any harm and are right to state their opinions. And one woman described the only course of action open to her. "Everybody should pray for a right solution and not judge others. I stand for God and I talk to Him. I think

you have to find your own self within you and each individ-ual is so different." One non-attending local businessman was not prepared to be so charitable. He

recited a rude limerick about a verger and added: "I have lived in two cathedral cities Winchester and Lincoln, and there has been the same snobbery, the same feeling of superiority round both cathedrals. It's all bullshit."

Canon Davis's sermon spoke feelingly of a series of personal conversions — to pentecostalism, ecumenism, the women's ministry --- and compared them to failing in love. He added that one could

even be converted to a cathedral. Before being appointed to Lincoln, he had worked at the edge of the church, studying new religious movements preaching in far-flung places. "When I came here, I felt a

. . 疗.] :51

little as if God had played an enormous joke on me." he confessed. "I suddenly found myself in this great hulking place with its somewhat stultifying beauty and the regularity of its ways, of what can even be thought of as the boring routine of Anglican ordinariness.

But just as love develops, so conversion comes; the Sub-Dean learned to love his cathe-dral in 1982, while attending a conference in the United States.

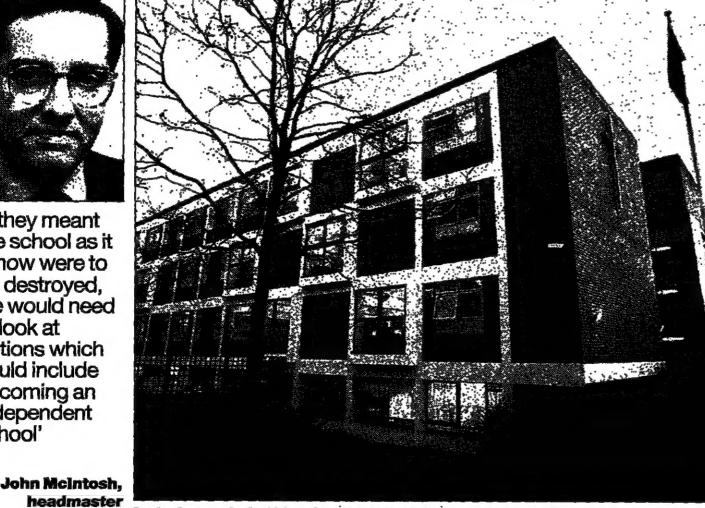
In his blessing, Canon Davis invoked the name of St Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln from 1186 to 1300. Hugh, according to popu-lar legend, was an excessive admirer of holy relics. He once visited Fecamp Abbey in France and bit off a chunk of Mary Magdalene's arm.

St Hugh's successor, the Rt Rev Robert Hardy, keeps not relics but a small collection of Dinky toys and a boomerang in his study. Lord knows what the toy cars symbolise; but the boomerang suggests an in-tractable problem, one that comes flying back just when you thought you had got rid of

School's stance gives Major ammunition as parties battle for education vote 🗆 Labour leader neutral in debate on 'annual beauty contest'



'If they meant the school as it is now were to



Shadow elections left in MPs' hands

Michael White Political Editor

ONY Blair last night left it open to Labour MPs to decide whether or not to risk the annual autumn ritual of shadow cabinet elections so close to what could turn into real elections against the Mr Blair's office reacted

with studied neutrality to

leagues across the spectrum. Some doubt that all those Privately some ministers and shadow ministers agree. They are likely to find ex-cuses to abstain to avoid votes would resist an impas-sioned plea for unity, but left-winger Tony Banks yesterday "split" talk. The shadow elec-tions pose similar problems. told BBC1's Breakfast with Last week's row over the de-Frost "It will be most sur-prising if they [the leader-ship] push this, but if they do, I think it will get turned over volution referendum reminded Mr Blair that his Road to the Manifesto statement needs unity if voters are very heavily." to stay impressed

all sides feel sufficiently hard- | Mackinlay, MP for Thurrock, done-by to ignore that advice. | claims the support of 100 col-

The issue will be discussed at Wednesday's shadow cabi-net and by the weekly meet.

claims the support of 100 col-

In private, the Labour

be destroyed, we would need to look at options which could include becoming an independent school'

London Orstory school, which would consider becoming independent under a Labour government photograph marin angles

Blair headmaster accused of inept politicking

Threat to switch to fee-paying school to avoid party's policies

John Carvel Education Editor

ABOUR last night accused the headmaster of the state school where Tony Blair sends his older son of "inept and clumsy politicking" after he warned that it might become a private fee-paying establishment to escape the education policies of a Labour government. John McIntosh, head of

the London Oratory grant-maintained school attended by Euan Blair, said in a statement that Labour policies threatened its charac-ter. "If they meant that the

school as it is now were to be destroyed, we would need to look at a range of options, which could include becoming an indepen-dent school," he said. The intervention appeared calculated to needle Mr Blair, who attracted criticism in the party 18 months ago when he chose a grant-maintained Roman

unthinkable. Catholic school before party policy was adjusted Mr McIntosh has been to come to terms with state schools opting out of local authority control. David Blunkett, the one of the most outspoken advocates of state schools

authority control. David Blunkett, the shadow education secre-tary, responded by accus-ing Mr McIntosh of misrep-resenting Labour proposals schools the opportunity to is authority control. Testerday he completely on fees and charitable income. Mr Blunkett said the Ora-tory opted out of voluntary-resenting Labour proposals schools the opportunity to index of the opportunity the opportunity to index of the opportunity the opportunity the opportunity to index of the opportunity the opportuni

to make a stir. "He is be-having as if he owned the school when clearly he does not. I think it is absolute

the ethos of the school. That control would be lost bluff. It is a piece of rather inept and clumsy politicking to try to embarrass Tony Blair." Mr McIntosh's intervenunder Labour, he said. The party also appeared committed to neighbourtion gave the Conservatives fresh ammunition by openhood schools, admitting pu-pils from their local area. ing up the prospect of a Labour prime minister with a son at an indepen-dent school while the par-ty's commitment to state

a Labour government, he added, would not affect the ethos of the school unless Mr McIntosh harboured an ambition to make it wholly selective.

Foundation status under

Sir Robert Balchin, chairman of the Grant-Main-tained Schools Foundation, said he did not expect large numbers of schools to flee the state sector under a

and deyond. Going independent would be a big step for a grant-maintained school. It would lose state funding and would have to rely and would have to rely completely on fees and charitable income. Mr Blunkett said the Ora-tory orded out of voluntary.

4,000 teachers 'to go',

Wordy text leaves little space for music

First night

Andrew Clements The Doctor of Myddfai Welsh National Opera, Cardiff

ELSH National Opera's controversial decision to ask Manchester-born Peter Maxwell Davies to write an opera for its 50th anniversary rather than commissioning a composer from west of Offa's Dyke has been thoroughly vindicated. But The Doctor of Myddfal, which received its press preview in Cardiff on Friday — the official premiere | rain, a bruise spreads incur-

is at Llandudno on Wednes day — does have a Welsh origin.

treated with indifference and It is built around a medieval discovers he has taken on the legend about the healing pow-ers of successive generations of doctors of Myddfai, even magical powers of his pre-decessors. When he finally gets to see the Ruler himself though David Poutney's li-bretto is located in the present and is again dismissed, he transforms bimself into a day in an anonymous, bureauwomen from an escort agency, and manages to infect the cratic state. What the opera is really about is harder to div-Ruler with the disease. ine; it seems to be part Aids-allegory, part mad cow para-ble, part anti-Euro diatribe. The Ruler demands to be taken to a lake to be cured alongside his people; once there the doctor refuses to cure him and is trampled to death by the crowd. The Doctor's The new Doctor of Myddfai is re-telling the old legend to his 12-year-old daughter. while a strange new disease is daughter now takes control, devastating the population ---orders the Ruler to walk into whenever anyone is struck a the lake, and begins to disman-

ably. When the Doctor goes to the government for help, he is spare, arresting designs by Hundley/Muir. Yet his text is prolix - there are just too many words to put over, with not enough space for the music to expand around them. But Davies's music, beauti-fully paced after slightly plodding opening scenes, takes maximum advantage of what expressive room there is. Dramatically the opera pivots about the two crucial confrontations between the Doc-tor and the Ruler, the musical roots are two hymns sung in Welsh in the first scene of each

| of clarity and directness, in

act. This raw material generates some moments of high tensile power. especially in the the the machinery of state. Poutney's staging is a model | best of Davies's recent orches-

led by Paul Whelan's forthweak-willed Ruler, and Lisa Tyrell's touching Child.

tral music. Yet his pallette is wide — there are exquisite washes of colour, and vivid. sharp-etched echoes of the vocal lines in the orchestra. The Doctor of Myddfal is only Davies's second full-scale opera, and will be, he says, his last. That's a pity. There aren't many other British composers around who could plot a ship between drama and music so well. But if it is his farewell to the opera house, it is a satisfying one, done full justice by the orchestra of WNO under Richard Anistrong, and a cast right Doctor. Gwynne Howell's

reports that up to 100 ba most certainly prefer the ing of the Parliamentary annual beauty contest to be Labour Party on July 17. benchers are backing Andrew Mackinlay's call for the called off, as a potential dis-traction. It could result in Blairite MPs — notably Har-rist Harman — being voted off to remind Mr Blair not to shadow elections to be held in November as usual. Sooner than that, Mr Blair and John Major are adopting a common approach on take the troops for granted. Scope for mischief was whether or not MPs and ministers should get pay rises of up to 30 per cent, "fat cat" awards or catch-up payments after a decade of parliamen-tary cowardice, according to underlined yesterday by the kind of media reports which make Labour MPs fret. Loudly discounted was a claim that Mr Blair plans to win two elections and then Both are urging rejection of the independent award in Wednesday night's free vote, stand down at 50. It suggests a degree of confidence about the next election that Mr

John Reid, the defence spokesman, who first floated the suspension idea, intends "Our sole aim should be the defeat of the Conservatives, not the defeat of shadow cabinet members," he said. The shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, told Sky News

there was no proposal to abandon the elections, but that could change with an early general election.

in favour of a 3 per cent rise. But there are strong signs that enough backbenchers on On the shadow cabinet, Mr Tory challenges Blair gurus, page 4; Leader comment, page 8; John Gray, page 9

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stage work so convincingly, and understand the relation-

That would inevitably force changes on the Oratory, which takes its 1,200 boys from throughout London education makes it and beyond.

Full equality and more involvement in active service for female soldiers agreed in principle, but top brass balk at final push to front line fighting until 'society as a whole is ready'

Spite hints of the

>ction

hand

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DAI

David Fairhall on a policy revision



Women cadets at the Sandhurst military academy take part in the Soversign's Parade. They could soon get an enhanced front line role

NEWS 3

Army to step up women's combat roles



HE army's top brass have decided in principle that women should be allowed to fight in the front line. However, they are holding back from instituting this back from instituting this final form of equal opportu-nity because they believe British society as a whole is not yet ready for it. In a report that will shortly go to the Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, the Army Board has recommended that

rate de la calendaria

everything but the infantry and the armoured corps should immediately be opened up to women. This means female soldiers could find themselves serving in Bosnia with the sappers or the artillery, not just driving a truck or operating a radio. Even then, however, com-

manders will be expected to exercise some discretion for example, by posting women to the gun lines but not sending them right forward to an exposed artillery observation post. Nor is there any immediate

prospect of their being involved in what soldiers call "the final brutal business" of hand-to-hand combat.

Two considerations are driving the army forward in the direction of complete sexusl equality - a serious shortage of recruits, and the way in which some servicewomen have recently ermeet.



Woman soldier in Israel, where emphasis is put on lessening chances of capture

remove all formal barriers | ing "combat effectiveness". In | towards non-discrimination. and let women decide for themselves whether they wanted to go "over the top". Units would also be able to exercise discretion by setting practice, this means not put-ting women in the direct line of fire, and trying to lessen their chances of capture - a point on which the Israeli physical training targets that women would be unlikely to army, which uses many women, puts great emphasis. "But when the nation is

Female soldiers often carry arms, though usually for selfdefence, and they are no longer restricted to the rear echelons. In the air, women now fly combat aircraft and attack helicopters, not just transports. In the navy, they go to see in surface warships, Abuse and torture are political risks governments fear most

Sarah Boseley

THERE they are on the parade grounds of Europe and the world, hair pulled tightly off their faces, uniforms immaculate and gams gleaming. But while women soldiers may rank highly and perform outstandingly, few are ever to be seen at the mud and the uniforms immaculate while women soldiers may rank fighly and perform outstandingly, few are ever to be seen at the mud and the uniforms immaculate women are very visible in the Israeli army, where they fight alongside the men. Even so, there are restrictions on where is-raeli women soldiers are sent, for fear that they could be captured by Palesgore end of soldiering.

In theory, Britain is one of the last countries in Europe with an official ban on women going to the frontline, along with Portugal and Greece. But in fact, there are very few women soldiers indeed in Italy and those in Germany are restricted to the medical centre or the military band. In both countries, the barrier is mostly a traditional and cultural one.

lor Helmut Kohl's coalition government for women to be allowed into all areas of military service, including armed units. The defence minister, Volker Ruehe, a Christian Democrat, dis-missed the idea of women in combat out of hand. The official barriers to

women who want to fight have been pulled down by Canada, Belgium, Holland and Norway, where any sol-dier can apply for a combat role regardless of gender. Women are very visible in tinian fighters.

The concept of women in enemy hands, of women being toriured, is a hard one for all governments. In the United States army, where women are more equal and more numerous from Canada and 60 from Belgium -- the ugly spectre did indeed raise its head. Ataman general at a confer-ence on women in Nato forces a couple of years ago, seemed not to be much in-terested in serving in the army

the logic runs, then they must take the risks that men take — of death, inarmy. There were calls in Ger-many yesterday by the junior partners in Chancel- | jury, abuse and torture.

A woman soldier in the US Marine Corps arrives at a Saudi Arabian air base during the Gulf War in 1990

said.

portonities law: The Army Board's first in-

public discussion and proba-bly a parliamentary debate, the generals have taken stinct in conducting its latest the generals have taken review of the situation was to refuge in the idea of preservhave

whole hog." will go the. Britain's armed forces

and the Admiralty recently decided that in principle they should also be allowed to serve in submarines. normous sirides

Union leaders warn BA not to use foreign pilots to break strike

Keith Harper and Sue Quinn

Airways to use foreign crews to break the all-out pilots' strike scheduled for July 16 will be blocked, leaders of the proposed stop-page warned last night.The warning came after BA refused yesterday to rule out

using foreign pilots to cover for British Airline Pilots' Association's (Balpa) 3,200 members who are planning an indefinite stoppage over pay. "We are making contingency plans to cover every eventuality," a BA spokes. man said

Balpa said the idea was 'doomed to failure''. BA would not be able to gain approval to use foreign pilots to fly the company's 95,000 daily travellers, and any attempt to

eral secretary, was adamant that BA would be unable to circumvent the strike by hir-ing foreign crews. "The fact is Mr Darke insisted that Balpa had a "good working relationship" with interna-tional colleagues and this ing foreign crews. The fact is that before a foreign pilot could fly a BA aircraft they would have to be assessed by a BA training captain, the vast majority of whom are Balpa members who, of course, will be on strike," he would be good enough to frustrate BA's plans. Balpa claims the walkout will cost BA £40 million a day

and will virtually ground its entire fleet. But the airline and travel agents are continu-ing to take telephone book-ings for BA flights. Baina has Balpa has also contacted the International Federation been encouraging other air-lines to run extra flights to

of Airline Pilots' Associations help holidaymakers get to their destinations. to ensure that foreign pilots do not work for BA. Both sides could find them-The International Transport Federation has been called on

selves at Acas, the concilia-tion service, if the dispute is to request that ground craws in international airports renot resolved before the end of fuse to handle BA planes pithe week. loted by non-union members once the strike starts. This has been done to head The airline unions are in-

do so would accelerate the off possible plans by BA to Some fear that BA is prepar-dispute. (call on 650 non-union pilots to face them down in a Chris Darke, Balpa's gen- work in the event of a dispute. (confrontation.

The transport unions are one of the last bestions of trade union control, and a number of union leaders have watched while BA has taken a more aggressive attitude toward their members. The most striking example of this has been in new working methods for pilots in Europe. BA may take legal action to prevent the strike. It said that

a separate offer to pilots at Gatwick has not been considered by Balpa's membership and that the union needs to consult all pilots before proceeding with its strike.

Balpa's reaction to this is that a 9 per cent offer to Gat-wick pflots includes a 10 per cent increase in productivity, which means that its pilots at

Gatwick would be worse off under the proposed deal. creasingly concerned about their position in the industry.

IRA attack suspect 'did not receive army bomb training'

Owen Bowcott and Ian Traynor in Bonn

ICHAEL Dickson, the ex-sapper who allegedly spearheaded the IRA mortar attack on Osnabruck barracks, would not have learned bomb-making in the Royal Engineers, an army spokesman insisted yesterday.

The training would have taught him how to locate and clear areas around mines or booby-traps, but would not have given him a detailed knowledge of explosives, said Lieutenant-Colonel Jan-Dirk Merveldt, the senior array spokesman in Germany. 'He bers are said to be called may have got to know a bit.' Mark and Beth -- has in-

G2 page 4

former soldier and his four republican colleagues switched back across the

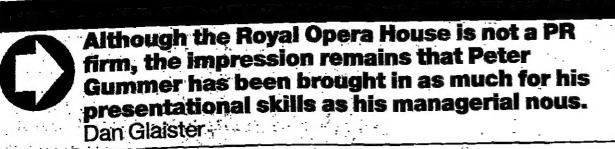
former servicemen in the ranks of the IRA highlights another intermittent feature Portadown. Since German detectives of the Troubles. If Dickson, whose family came from Glas-

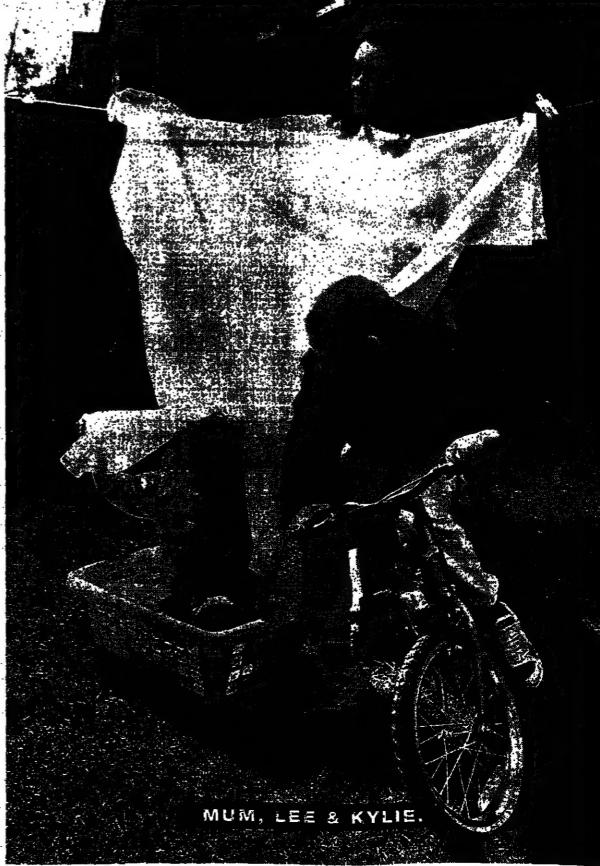
issued the suspects' descriptions to Interpol, the search for the IRA active service unit gow, was responsible for the attack, he will be neither the first Scot nor the first ex-sol-- two of whose other memdier in the Provisionals.

about bombs through basic volved police forces across past life emerged yesterday, but it was known he spen most of his service life from 1961 to 1968 with 44 Field Support Squadron, 35th regiment Royal Engineers, at Hameln in Germany, and was a fluent German speaker. He had not served in Northern Ireland but had visited the Osnabruck base where another Royal Engineers regiment is

After leaving the army he worked as was a security guard in London.

German investigators say "at least" five persons — three males and two females - comprised the active service mit involved. They may Few details of Dickson's now have returned to Ireland





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awareness training, but sap-Europe. No one was hurt in the morpers move construction tar attack on the British army barracks in Osnabruck on equipment around and are plumbers, drivers and June 28, which marked the diggers." The hunt for the 31-year-old reopening of the IRA's cam-paign in Europe. Until then, there had been a six-year hull in attacks on British bases abroad.

Irish Sea at the weekend after a car thought to belong to him was selzed by the Royal Ul-The alleged presence of a ster Constabulary in

4 BRITAIN

News in brief

4,000 teachers 'to be made redundant'

NEARLY one in 10 schools in England and Wales is threatening redundancies at the end of this term and 4.000 teachers could lose their jobs, the Association of Teachers and Lecturers said yesterday, indicating a further rise in class sizes at the start of the next academic year.

Extrapolating from a survey of 6,000 schools, the association estimated that 4,000 teachers would have got warning of redun-dancy by May 31, the annual deadline for issuing statutory dismissal notices. The figure is almost as high as last year in dismissal horices. The lighte is almost as high as last year in spite of assurances from the Government that budgets were being increased to prevent a further climb in class sizes. The survey found job losses in all types of school, but the

The survey found job losses in all types of school, but the secondary sector would bear the highest proportion. Many more posts would be shed through teachers being forced to tak early retirement due to ill health and not being replaced. "The feelgood factor for teachers and parents remains as elusive as ever. Job insecurity is bad enough, but equally worrying is the inevitable racking up again of class sizes this September. Once more teachers and parents are paving the September. Once more teachers and parents are paying the price of continued underfunding", said Peter Smith, the association's general secretary. --- John Carvel

British beef 'sold illegally'

THE German health ministry in Bonn confirmed at the weekend that the European Commission has been asked to follow up claims that British beef is being delivered illegally to mainland Europe. The 16 federal states of Germany have also been ordered to tighten their import controls on beef. The German ambassador in Rome, in a letter to the ministry lest week complained that errorts were reaching liely via Syst.

The German ambassador in Rome, in a letter to the ministry last week, complained that exports were reaching Italy via Scot-land, Ireland, and France, and spoke of "large scale" cheating on the European Union's export ban. According to the German press, the ambassador said forged health certification and false contents descriptions were used to mask the suspect goods. "An attempt to bring a meat delivery — declared as potatoes — into Italy was uncovered," the letter stated. The BSE crisis has decimated sales of beef in Germany, and Bonn has been among the hardliners in the EU in its insistence on not easing the exports ban until Britain has proven it has eradicated the risks. A leading member of the government of the

not easing the exports can until Britain has proven it has eradicated the risks. A leading member of the government of the state of Hessen has said that beef consumers had to be protected against "criminal intriguing" and that the commission should renew the ban on exports of cattle byproducts such as bull semen, tallow, and gelatine. — Ion Tropnor in Bonn

Mayhew to quit at election

The Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, confirmed yesterday that he will stand down as MP for Tunbridge Wells at the election, reviving speculation that John Major may decide to replace him when he "refreshens" his ministerial team before the summer recess. Sir Patrick told a constituency meeting in Ton-bridge, Kent, on Friday that he will be leaving after representing them for 22 years. His impregnable 17,132 majority will trigger a rush to be his successor. Whether the Prime Minister will take the opportunity to shake up his Cabinet, as well as lower ministerial posts later this month, is uncertain. Sir Patrick is believed to want to stay on at Stor-mont, but his deputy, Michael Ancram, would offer a smooth and generally popular successor.

generally popular successor. Having given Mr Major his first leg up the promotion ladder, as his unpaid PPS in the early 80s, Sir Patrick is seen as a chum. At 66 he is one of the oldest members of the Cabinet and the nearest colleague Mr Major has to a Willie Whitelaw figure, to whom he can turn for wise and disinterested advice. — Michael White

Black pupils 'face dole queue'

ONE in three black school-leavers face the dole this summer, twice as many as whites, according to a report today from the TUC. The situation was worse in Greater London, where four out of 10 blacks leaving school are likely to be jobless this summer.

The report showed that unemployment among young black people was running at 35.2 per cent in Britain last summer, compared with 15.8 per cent among whites. The report was published as the TUC stepped up its anti-racism campaign, which includes the release today of a record, Respect, by artists include Jimmy Somerville, Right Said Fred and Incognito. The TUC is also staging a free music and entertainment festival in London on July 20 as part of its campaign.

Conservative thinker sets out to demolish 'dangerous and wrong' ideas behind Labour's revival

Tory challenges Blair gurus

Michael White

Political Editor "almost entirely mood music, ABOUR'S revival with some rather grandiose under Tony Blair's leadership owes its intellectual respectassertions mixed in". What gives them weight are key buzz words. ability to six core These include "community" — under threat from "globalisation" of the econo-my and job "insecurity" which generates social inse propositions about Britain's place in the modern world which are dangerous and wrong, a leading Tory intel-lectual says today. Without the work of eight curity and crime; "short-ter-mism" which is a central fault of Anglo-Saxon finance capitalism: "stakeholder" as a means of reforming busi-ness and welfare to make them more "inclusions". such as globalisation, stake-holding and constitutional reform, the Labour leader's speeches would not be given their 'quite exaggerated them more "inclusive"; as well as "constitutional respect," according to David Willetts, a former think tank guru and now junior public reform" as an antidote to Tory "centralisation". Mr Willetts's eight targets

services minister at the Cabi-net Office. Mr Blair's utterances are Mr Blair's utterances are spin-doctor, author and MP for Hartlepool; Professor John Kay, exponent of stake-holding, Will Hutton, Guardian economic columnist turned Observer editor; Andrew Marr, editor of the Independent; John Gray, ex-Thatcherite Oxford don: Pro fessor David Marquand, formerly of the SDF and, surprisingly, Simon Jenkins, Tory ex-editor of the Times. He is included because of his book, Accountable to None, which describes the centralisation of key powers, chiefly at the expense of local government and other inter-mediate bodies, in the 80s.

Mr Willetts, MP for Havant

since 1992, calls the eight "spiritual cousins of those great British eccentrics who travelled abroad, taking up native costumes and living among the Bedouin, leading the cause of Greek national ism, or preserving the old folk songs of dying tribes. It is the desire not to be British which drives their agenda". Instead of working with the grain of Britain's unique

strengths and weaknesses. they seek German corporate structures, Japanese industrial long-termism, Singa-pore's welfare system and the judicial and constitutional traditions of the European Union

Mr Blair's contradictions centives to work which are stem from his acceptance that "on all the big issues of the while extending it to pension-

mode

companies.

past 15 years the Conserva-tives have indeed been right" ers and 16-18-year-olds. Allegations of Tory cenwhile attempting to denounce tralisation fail to recognise the more open way Britain is Thatcherite values. governed or the way the Tories have delegated deci-Mr Willetts's main arguments are:] On globalisation, job exsions to schools, hospitals etc. ports to the Third World are exaggerated, the flexible Brit-Critics fail to recognise the

. . -

power of judicial review to constrain ministers; and conish labour market is scarcely less secure than 20 years ago, and yields more jobs than the stitutional reform is offered as a pancea for Britain's ills. Labour's faith in education European social chapter and training implies that I Stakeholding fails to acequality of opportunity will

knowledge potential conflict between stakeholders or the lead to greater equality of out-come when there is no such strengths of market-driven guarantee.

□ On welfare reform Labour Blair's Gurus, Centre for Policy wishes to remove the disin-centives to work which are Studies, £7.50 from 52 Roches Row, London SW1P 1JU

John Gray, page 9

Labour thinkers (from left): Will Hutton, editor of the Observer; John Gray, Oxford don; Frank Field MP; and John Kay, exponent of stakeholding What David Willetts, Tory guru and junior minister, thinks of Labour's intellectuals



Germ peril of dish cloths

AFTER one day's normal use the average reusable dish cloth contains more than a billion bacteria — equivalent to the number in a typical kitchen sink U-bend, say researchers at Westminster university, London. Some of the samples tested harboured salmo-nella and colliform bacteria which can cause food poisoning and conjunctivitis.

conjunctivitis. Rinsing a cloth under hot water would not kill most of the germs and could even help to spread bacteria to the hands, said the researchers. They concluded that paper towels should be used for wiping all kitchen spills. If reusable cloths were used, they should be disinfected at least once a day either by washing at a temperature of at least 70C or by scaking in bleach.

Stamps go up by penny

FROM today the price of a first class stamp will increase from 25p to 28p, while a second class stamp will go from 19p to 20p. It is the first rise in more than 21/2 years. The Post Office

chairman, Sir Michael Heron, said yesterday that the rise was was caused by an "exacting" cash demand from the Treasury of 5925 million over the next three years: "The stamp price increase is necessary solely because of the unprecedented cash demand on the Post Office by the Government." The Trade President, Ian Lang, said the price of stamps will would still be lower in real terms than five years ago.

Jackpot is rolled over

SATURDAY'S 211.1 million National Lottery jackpot will be rolled over to make an estimated jackpot of £20 million this coming Saturday. Eleven people won £311,182 by matching five of the numbers 44, 47, 45, 43, 26 and 13, with the bonus number, 36.

On John Gray: "He accuses the City "Gray's analysis leads of failing to recognise him towards the true value of longprotectionism and term investment . . . if environmentalism as Hutton believes that, then he knows how to become a very rich man indeed. He should set up the William Hutton Long-Term Investment Fund."

ways of erecting barriers against the force of the international economy. The obvious parallels are ... Sir James **Goldsmith and Ross** Perot."

On John Kay: "The more cynical observers of Tony Blair may suggest that it is [the] absence of any clear policy descriptions which make John Kay so appealing to Blair and the people around him. It enables Blair . . to give a vague sense of being concerned."

On Frank Field: "He is many **Conservatives** favourite Labour politician . . . he understands as few on the left have done that . . . ultimately the social security system can shape people's behaviour and must be subject to moral scrutiny."

On Peter Mandelson: "Mandelson's book blithely jumbles up equality of outcome, equality of opportunity, social cohesion, and a narrowing of the earnings distribution, and more spending ... to be taken seriously these ideas need some sort of rigour,"

On David Marguand: "Marquand was a Blairite before Blair was a Blairite . . . he is an admirer of **Continental social** democracy just as Blair is . . . Britain is seen as somehow stuck in the past, trapped by its history, whereas it should be copying more modern countries,"

PHOTOGRAPH JOHN REARDON

High-level talks spark fears Labour may renege on pledge to restore GCHQ union rights

The 12-year fight to restore free trades unions at GCHQ has great symbolic impor-EMBERS of the shadow cabinet have had private talks with staff at GCHQ in a tance in the labour move-ment, and the talks may spark fears that Tony Blair move that could lead to a Labour government recognis-

will renege on his pledge to restore full union rights at the Cheltenham centre. ing the management-approved body set up after Mrs Thatcher imposed a trades union ban at the secret intelli-David Blunkett, Michael Meacher and Stephen Byers, gence-gathering centre.

meeting at his request with Brian Moore, chairman of the management-approved Government Communications Staff Federation. But one of the Labour team described the issue as a minefield. Faced with the threat of

being named by the International Labour Organisation in a procedure normally reserved Labour's front bench employ-ment team. recently had a cabinet last year dropped a

management veto over the that Labour's employment association's activities. spokesman indicated it was a The trades union certificamatter for GCHQ staff which body they wanted to join in the event of a Labour election tion officer is now consider-ing whether to grant the association official indepenvictory. However, Mr Blundent status. According to Mr kett yesterday insisted he Moore, the association repre sents more than 51 per cent of GCHQ staff — the shadow had not promised anything at all". He and his colleagues "just listened", he said cabinet's criterion for trades

while also referring to union recognition. Labour's new commitment on Mr Moore said last week the 51 per cent threshold.

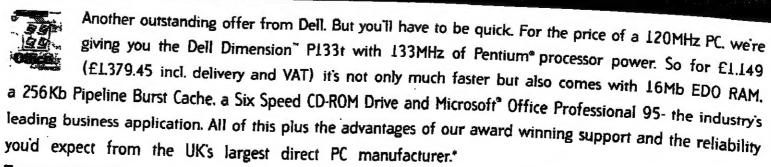
Civil service union leaders, whose members at GCHQ were told to leave their unions or the centre, are di-vided on how to respond to Mr Moore's approaches. The PTC union, which had

most members at GCHQ, is taking a hard line, while lead-ers of the CPSA, the largest civil service union, have made it clear they want to prepare for a settlement.









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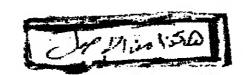
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David Berestord in Johannesburg

BRITAIN 5

The Guardian Monday July 8 1996

Poetic spirit of '65 fades into a Blur

Flachra Gibbons at the Albert Hall

POETRY is dead. The wake was at the Royal Albert Hall last night. Not even Damon Albarn, the bard of Britpop, could

save it. Hyped as The Superjam: A Hip Mass, the nine-hour reading was supposed to celebrate pop poetry's com-ing of age. But it turned out more like a revival meeting of some dying sect. The old, the very young, and a smat-tering of the terminally sad in between. It started ominously. A

middle-aged woman singing in Japanese to her own echo, another omming Steve Biko ... omminim Ken Saro Wiwa" to almost empty 27 auditorium.

Michael Horovitz, grand-master of what he called "this Bardstock", blew a strange little horn, his "Anglosaxophone" to sum-"Anglosarophone" to sum-mon up the spirit of 1965, when he packed the hall with the beat generation, and for one night poetry was proclaimed the new rock 'n' roll. "Let's levitate the place!" he shouted in his white flares, looking like he belonged down the road in the Natural History Museum with the T-rex. Museum with the T-rex.

All the old stagers of performance poetry were there. Roger McGough, now a grandfather. looked faintly embarrassed. The Irish poet Brendan Kennel-ly read, appropriately, from his new collection, Poetry My Arse. You would never have

thought that British poetry was in the middle of its strongest revival since the 19308

1930a. Among the line up of 60 was Patti Smith, high pricetess of punktand Beat, nik survives, pur an ober



1. 1. 1. A. A.

Poets cornered ... Patti Smith: 'Should I start counting the audience?' and Roger McGongh, faintly embarrassed by 'Bardstock' attempt to relive 1965 Photospart KPPA MATHEWS



Hardliners' dwindling voice against ordination of homosexual clergy

Gay debate the synod bishops do not want

Madeleine Bunting Religious Affairs Editor	Church homose	
HE Guardian's survey of General Synod members on homosex-	ls the Church's current position towards homosexuality coherent?	Is Christianity compatible with being a practising homosextal?
uality will make awk-	Yes 30.5%	Yes 40.4%
ward reading for the bishops. Sixty-five per cent of the Church of England's govern-	No 65.3%	No 52.5%
ing body gave the House of Bishops' 1991 report, Issues in Human Sexuality, the thumbs down The compromise docu-	Would you tike to discuss homosexuality in the litetime of this General Synod?	Should the Church ordain practising homosexuals?
ment asserts that active ho- mosexuality can be tolerated	Yes 55.5%	Yes 30.8%
among the laity but not among the clergy, but synod	No 35.1%	No 62.1%
says this is not coherent. Homosexuality is the synod debate the House of Bishops does not want. Its 1991 report	Do you know of any clergy who are practising homosauals?	Should clargy be able to bless homosexual relationships?
has yet to come before synod, and according to the Lesbian	Yes 5.8%	Yes 20.5%
and Gay Christian Move-	No 35.5%	No 73.9%
mittee has produced an 18 page briefing document about how to keep the matter off the agenda. The fear is, as several synod members responding to	Do you consider you have a responsibility to report to the bishop about clergy who are practising homosexuals?	Would it be fair to characterise your approach as one of don't ask don't tail?
the survey wrote, that any de- bate will generate "far more	Yes 27.5%	Yes 31.1%
heat than light". This is a sub-	No 62.490	- No 61.5%
very deep because it strikes at the heart of how people view	evangelicals. The Church	threatened to suspend its

the Bible. If every word of the Bible is rue and comes directly from God, then passages of Leviti-mus are clear on buggery and sodomy, declare the hardline Reform group which has the Church is threatened to suspend its pa-rochial financial contribu-tions to the diocese over this is the rallying cry of synod members in the evangelical ight y since evangelical con-gregations are some of the true and comes directly from follow the fashion of the day, God, then passages of Leviti is the rallying try of synod cus are clear on buggery and members in the evangelical sodomy, declare the hardline Reform group which has

biggest and wealthiest in the

Church. To avert that, the bishops have to tread a delicate line of refusing publicly to tolerate practising homosexuals among the clergy. "If the Church openly ac-

cepts practising homosexuals for ordination, we would pull out of communion.

"The greater danger is that they'll keep fudging the issues. Homosexuals are being ordained, bishops must know and that is happening

know and that is happening increasingly. We're having to consider our position," said Phillip Hacking, chairman of Reform, a conservative evan-gelical group within the Church. But the survey indicates that this hardline element is christing

shrinking. Only 7 per cent of synod took the extreme stance of be-lieving that "even cellbate ho-mosexuals need to be healed of their sexual orientation if they are to be fully accepted as Christians" and that not even celibate homosexuals should be ordained.

On a key question - is Christianity compatible with being a practising homosex-ual? — 40.4 per cent said yes. 52.5 per cent said no.

The clergy were more tolerant than the laity (49 per cent to 34 per cent) reflecting a general trend throughout the SULLARY.



Living legend's state visit aims to combine business and pleasure tion of foreign investment lost Queen, he has invited her to

years in jail hefore being elected South Africa's first black president in 1994. Uni-versities have fallen over themselves to award honor-ELSON Mandela ar-rives in Britain tonight on a mission to turn his ary degrees, and Parliament has accorded him the rare privilege of an address in 900-year-old Westminster Hall. personal legend to economic advantage for South Africa.

"The visit has special sig-nificance given President Mandela's international standing, and it will set the The four-day state visit is seen as the beginning of a swansong by the African National Congress leader seal on our relations with South Africa," a Buckingham Palace spokesman said. who, at 78 next month, ap-pears to be focusing on ceremonial duties as he prepares, for retirement. Buckingham Palace has

in the sanctions years has been recovered, and Britain has reassumed its position as

the leading trading partner, there is anxiety in Pretoria that foreign enthusiasm for the South African "miracle" is beginning to falter. The hope is that Mr Man-dela will be able to give fresh

61.6%

impetus to international sup-port for his country's economy - specifically in negotiations for favourable access to European Union markets.

Like all state visits, his will

Queen, he has invited her to lunch at the Dorchester.

Mr Mandela said in a BBC television interview aired on Sunday that he would be "among his best friends in the work!" in Britain, and was looking forward to staying at Buckingham Palace.

"It is a long way from the country village in which I was born and brought up, but fortunately I will be in the company of a very gracious lady, Her Majesty the Queen. "If I will be upset by the splendour of the palace, I am

South Airica, a Buckinghani Like all soute visits, his will spienhour or the palace, I and Palace spokesman said. ... be heavy on pomp and care, sure she is the type of lady Mr Mandela's journeys this mony. But Mr Mandela has week to Britain and France also insisted on humble at rest." he said with the mod-



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- Margaret and Dana dia kalan in mit Sinthe ... 1 NUMBER OF STR

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struggled to meet hundreds of are expected to be followed by touches, including a tour of esty that has made him one of requests for invitations to visits to Israel and Russia as Brixton, south London — the world's most popular meet a man who spent 27 he gradually cedes executive home to one of the capital's leaders.

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6 WORLD NEWS

News in brief

Assassin appeals against conviction

THE MAN jailed for life for the assassination of the former Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, yesterday appealed to the supreme court to overturn his morder conviction.

Lawyers for Yigal Amir, aged 26, argued that evidence sug-gested another gunman was involved in the November attack. Amir had admitted shooting Mr Rabin at a peace rally and an

Affir fad admitted shooting Mr Rabin at a peace rally and an amateur video recording showed him firing three shots. Two bullets felled Rabin and a third wounded his bodyguard. Defence lawyer Gabi Shahar told the three judges that Amir had placed nine bullets in his clip before setting out for the rally. After his arrest, police discovered eight bullets in his pistol. "We're saying that these facts point to at least a reason-able doubt that the death of Mr Rabin was caused by the appellant [Amir]," Mr Shahar said. He also pointed out that ballistics experts had testified at the trial that Mr Rabin was killed from a distance of between 10 inches and point-blank range while the tage showed that Amir was not that close range while the tape showed that Amir was not that close.

Another defence lawyer argued that Mr Amir had intended only to paralyse Rabin. Shmuel Fleishman told the court Amir did not have the capacity to decide between right and wrong and asked the court to reduce the murder conviction to a lesser charge of manslaughter. - Reuter, Jerusalem,

Gunmen kill 11 in Kashmir

A GROUP of suspected Muslim separatist militants shot dead at least 11 migrant workers in India's Jammu and Kashmir state, police said yesterday. The workers from other northern Indian states were killed on

Saturday night as they slept in the village of Patakoe in Kupwara district. The motive for the killings was not immediately clear but police say Kashmiri militants often target people they suspect of

being government informers. The massacre took place a few hours after the Indian prime minister, H. D. Deve Gowda, ended a visit to Kashmir, where his separatist groups, either fighting for independence from India or a merger with Pakistan, have opposed elections. Mr Deve Gowda has called a meeting in New Delhi today of the leaders of all parties to discuss the dates for elections. — Renter, Sringar.

Actor's death still a mystery

MYSTERY still surrounds the death in Los Angeles of the Oscar-winning Cambodian actor, Haing Ngor, and it is possible that a murder case will be dismissed. Later this month three Chinese gang members are due to face murder and robbery charges in a preliminary bearing, but detec-tives have not recovered the gun used in the February killing or a Pales witch and cold chain acid in the preprint The three theory than the set of Rolex watch and gold chain said to have been stolen. The three teenagers have admitted to being in the area and on drugs at the time of Dr Ngor's death but deny killing him. Meanwhile, specula tion surrounds Dr Ngor's anti-Khmer Rouge history in Cambo-dia. He was captured and tortured by the rebels, who also killed his wife. The prime minister of Cambodia, Hun Sen, has publicly

blamed the Kinner Rouge for his death. Doubts about the robbery persist because neither \$3,000 Dr Ngor had in a jacket pocket nor his Mercedes Benz car were stolen, despite the fact that the Chinese gang specialises in car-jackings. — Christopher Reed, Los Angeles.

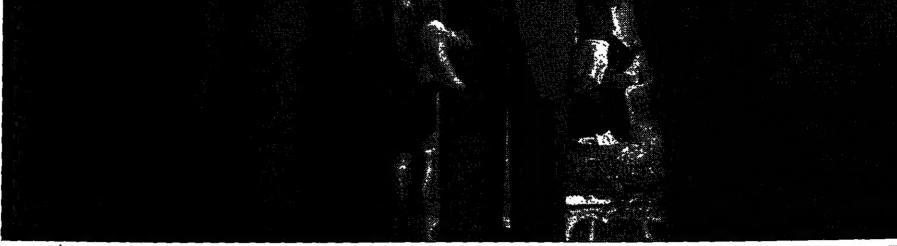
Albanians to form coalition

THE Albanian president, Sali Berisha, who is under fire from the West after a general election widely criticised as unfair, said yesterday he would invite some opposition parties to join the new government

"We are for a coalition government. We are ready to offer portfolios to them (but) first they have to express their will to participate." he said before meeting central and eastern Euro-

participate. The sain before meeting central and esserth suro-pean leaders in Salzburg. Mr Berisha asked Aleksander Meksi of the ruling Democratic Party on Saturday to form a new government. The Democratis hold 122 seats in the 140-seat legislature. The president said his Democratic Party was talking to three mail constitute participation in the new participation in act the her

small opposition parties in the new parliament, but not the key Socialists, who refuse to accept the 10 seats they won in the



Honoured guest . . . President Jacques Chirac greets Saudi officials before a dinner at the palace of King Fahd in Jeddah yesterday. The French president, on a two-day official visit to Saudi Arabia, urged Israel to reveal whether it intends to pursue the Middle East peace process, warning that uncertainty encouraged political violence Photograph. JERCME OFLAY

Government tries to stall foreign intervention to end ethnic killings Afghans dodge OAU to focus on Burundi dangers of war

Chris McGreal in Bujumbura

NE of South Africa's

The author of the novel

police agent.

University.

bility to the president. "We need to look for alternative solutions. Foreign sol-URUNDI is expected diers would violate our soverto top the agenda of eignty," the prime minister the annual summit of told one protest against intervention. An estimated 150,000 people

African Unity in Cameroon today, despite the govern-ment's efforts to backtrack on have died in three years of turmoil since the assassinaan agreement to allow foreign tion by Tutsi soldiers of Butroops to attempt to break the rundi's first president elected cycle of ethnic massacres. A fortnight sgo, Burundi's Tutsi prime minister, An-

by the Hutu majority. The Tutsi political and mili-tary elite has been trying to toine Nduwayo, and the use nationalism to whip up largely powerless Hutu presi-dent, Sylvestre Ntibantunsentiment against interven tion, fearing that an occupa ganya, bowed to pressure from other East African leadtion force will impose a political solution at its expense. ers and "invited" what was The prime minister's party,

then tried to shift responsi- | least another week before it

bas assessed its position. Mr Nduwayo will continue to face pressure from Burun-di's neighbours, who fear the war could spill across their borders. He and his colleagues bowed to regional pressure after months of rejecting foreign troops, amid escalating violence and an economy badly hit by the war and the suspension in March

of all but emergency aid. Beside the objections within Burundi, the region's leaders still have to decide on the size, composition and, most importantly, the mandate of an intervention force. When not addressing hard-

the mainly-Thisi Upron anwayo das sana de deneves which is the real power in the foreign troops will have a recommending that the OAU coalition government, even mandate to use force to pro-went so far as to issue a tect civilians. War faction leaders should among African countries of-faring to send troops. The United States has offered lo-gistical support and But Mr Nduwayo's own party accused him of high treason over the deal, and he

Even if a plan for armed intervention is agreed, it will, at best, provide a breathing space in which to try to find a political solution. Besides overcoming mounting bitter-ness, any settlement will have to ease tramendous fears to balance the democratic rights of the Hutu majority while guaranteeing the security of the Tutsi minority. "I don't think it's impossi

ble but the real problem is the ideology of genocide that's been developed for years here, as well as in Rwanda," Mr Nduwayo said. "We need to have a system in which the

houses in the area of Khusai Mena. War has turned the once affluent Kabul suburb ethnic groups can really feel safe and blossom together." into a wasteland. As if divining, one of the liners at demonstrations, Mr | African foreign ministers men sieers a metal detector 2000120 3 a road

mining teams does not deter some residents. Mr Waseh gestures to an elderly man to leave the area his team is Landmines do not deter civilians from clearing: "He'll be back once we finish for the day. When we're working, we can tell them to stay away. After we're gone, it's a free for all." scouring the ruins. **Gerald Bourke**

reports from Kabul of the dangers, the booty be-lieved hidden in abandoned homes turns the minefield BDUL WASEH'S teams About wasen's reams have been working since fam. Two of his since 6am. Two of his into a magnet for scavangers. men work their way down a narrow road between ruined

While mines are generally more likely to maim than kill, booby traps scattered across Khusal Mena are far more deadly. "There's one," Mr Waseh

says, pointing to a strand of wire stretched across a chunk The other of broken concrete at the en-

Despite billboards warning

The Guardian Monday July 8 1996



Sporting chance ... A fighting bull rounds a corner as a fallen man takes cover during the first bull run of the San Fermin festival in Pamplona, Spain PhotoGRAPH: SANTAGO LYON

Turin Shroud old as Christ

TWO scientists at Turin University say the shadow of an ancient copper coin overturns the results of tests showing that the Turin Shroud is a medieval fake dating from between 1260 and 1390. If their findings are confirmed, then the Shroud, a linen sheet

in their initiality supposed to have been used to wrap Christ's body after the crucifizion, may very well date from around the time of Christ's death. The Shroud bears the imprint of a man's face and his wounded body. After several months' study, the two Turin scientist's claim to have revealed the imprint of the coin, a lepton,

on the linen above the left eyebrow of the face. The coin bears the date of the 16th year of the reign of Emperor Tiberius, which corresponds to 29 AD, around the date that Christ is supposed to have died. — John Glover, Milan.

security assistance. Tanzania, Uganda and Ethiopia were

trance to a devastated house. alerted to something underground, prods the earth. An electronically controlled It has taken them six weeks

device recently defused by his to make 150 metres of the team consisted of an anti-per-sonnel mine rigged to an antiroadside safe. In the process, they have unearthed thoutank mine wired to a rocket sands of metal fragments, connected to a bomb. if booby traps rarely spare their victims, mines are more mostly spent bullets and shrapnel shards, and dozens

of anti-personnel mines. discriminating. Momin Rahman, aged 12, was caught in gunfire between marauding gangs in Khusal Mena. As he ran for cover, he stepped on a mine which blew off his ankle For two years until Janu-ary 1995, Khusal Mena was a no man's land, fought over by no man's tant, fought over by rival Sunni and Shia factions — bit players in a wider war for the Afghan capital Even at the height of their exchanges of artillery and machine-gun fire, fighters and drove metal into his leg.

and drove metal into his leg. Doctors amputated his leg just below the knee and fitted an artificial one. Until he reaches adulthood. Momin will need a new artifical limb from both sides would sneak into Khusal Mena, lay mines and booby traps, then retreat behind their lines. After the Shias were routed

every six months. Seven months after the accident, he is still traumatised. Like the After the Shias were routed 18 months ago, the Halo Trust, a British charity specialising in the removal of mines and unexploded ord-nance, moved in. Thousands of civilians also came. Some were former residents hoping to salvage something of their former lives. Others came

to salvage something of their former lives. Others came from the city's growing army of human scavangers. "Within the first week there were 585 mine victims." De formation and the line of the Red Cross, Kabul is the most mined capital in the world. The two factions that fought former lives. Others came from the city's growing army

of human scottand "Within the first week there were 585 mine victims." Dr Homayun Farld, Halo's di-rector in Kabul, says. Since then the toll has diminished considerably. thanks to awareness campaigns by Halo and other organisations. and other organisations. "Within the first week there were 585 mine victims." The two factions that fought for Khusal Mena have agreed a peace of sorts. but the war for the city grinds on, with more mines being sown. Dr Farid says: "We clear one field and another sprouts a few miles away."

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Mark Behr: His activities became counter-productive

yesterday and recanted "confessions" that they "confessions" that they were mercenaries. The four — Steven Jonker, aged 26, François Cloete, aged 32, Stephanus van Rensburg, aged 28, and Andrew Fraser, aged 50 — said they had been coerced into making their state-ments at a press conference.

that induces silence as it

feeds relentlessly on its

ments at a press conference.

years in the late 1930s. He instructing activities at then turned double agent, supplying the ANC with intelligence. Mr Behr, aged 32, was the first "leftwinger" elected to the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch University. Mr Behr, aged S2, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S2, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S2, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S2, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S2, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S2, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S3, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S3, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S3, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S3, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch Mr Behr, aged S4, was the the students' represents-tive council at Stellenbosch party on their return. Mr Behr disclosed his

to Lusaka to meet the then

The Smell of Apples said yesterday that be had worked for the security police for more that four years in the late 1980s. He cover, on the grounds that his leftwing activities at Stellenbosch were becom-ing counter-productive.

banned ANC. But he had cleared the trip with the police as a move to enhance own juices," he said. Mr Behr said he had been recruited by a relative who was a general in the South his credibility in the antiapartheid community. apartheid community. He said yesterday that he was forced to leave Stellen-bosch when the National Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence threatened to blow his African police. • Four white South Afri-cans, held for nine months by the Angolan rebel force Unita, returned to Pretoria

He incurred the apparent | role at an artists' confer-wrath of President F. W. de | ence in Cape Town. "Today Klerk in 1989 by taking the | I begin a public confronta-Nationalist-controlled SRC | tion with that fear of shame

UN digs up Bosnia war crimes site



One year after Srebrenica's fall, forensic investigators are gathering evidence for The Hague trial. **Julian Borger** reports from Cerska

ORENSIC investigations the evidence that's there," tors from the United said William Haglund, one of Nations used a me-chanical digger to The UN hired Serb la-

remove the topsoil from a remote northern Boshillside yesterday as nian work began to exhume thousands of victims of last year's Srebrenica massacre.

The use of an industrialsize digger reflects the scale of the task. In what is proba-bly the worst atrocity Europe has witnessed since the second world war, Bosnian Serb separatists are thought to have executed most of the 8,000-strong adult male popu-lation of Srebrenica after they overran the Muslim enclave a year ago this week.

The exhumation of bodies is expected to take three months and will concentrate on 12 suspected mass graves. It began on a stifling hot afternoon yesterday as a dozen hired Serb labourers cleared undergrowth from a hillside beside a dust track near the hamlet of Cerska, 19 miles north-west of Srebren-

ica. The seven-ton digger ma-noeuvred down the slope and began scooping away the top-soil. The area had earlier Norwegian sappers. Tribunal investigators -

working from the testimony of survivors — found the remains of four bodies when they dug three small explor-atory holes at the Cerska site in May. They have no doubt it is a mass grave and believe they will find many more bodies this week

"I'm confident we'll get to

bourers from the Sarajevo area to do much of the manual work. The workers walked up the dirt track to Cerska carrying hoes, spades, and picks, and pushing wheel barrows. They refused to talk to the press and remonstrated with photographers. Many Bosnian Serbs view collabora tion with The Hague tribunal as treachery.

Experts from the independent forensics group Physiclans for Human Rights found spent bullet casings on the dust road. UN investigators believe Muslim prisoners, caught last July while trying to flee Srebrenica, were lined up on the roadside, shot and pushed into pits in the embankment below. Eyewitness accounts and satellite photographs at the time suggest similar mass executions oc-curred north and west of Srebrenica.

More Srebrenica Muslims were killed in ambushes as they tried to escape to government-held territory, and left to rot where they fell. In a sepbeen checked for mines by arate UN initiative yesterday, a Finnish-led team began removing those bodies from a

hillside near Kravice, seven miles north of Srebrenics. About 20 US soldiers, swel tering in full battledress, ac companied the 15 investiga-tors to Cerska in five light armoured vehicles, armed with machine-guns and anti-

tank rockets. Daniel Zajac, the US major

been removed by yesterday.



Hills of death . . . Finnish team members near Kravice remove the remains of Muslims shot while fleeing Srebrenica last year Photograph: ODD ANDERSEN

commanding this "liaison" detachment, said Bosnian Three thousand men from | base -- dental and medical re- | reduce the long-term possibil-rebrenica are known to have | cords, descriptions and DNA | ity of identification. Srebrenica are known to have been killed. The missing 5,000 Serb forces did not attempt to interfere.

are presumed dead. The remains recovered in The human remains ex the next three months are exhumed around Srebrenica pected to provide ample evi-dence of atrocities, but it is will be transported in refri gerated trucks to the Bosnian government held town of unlikely that many of the Tuzla, where they will be ex-

samples from relatives — neo essary to have a fair chance of identifying the bodies. A report by Physicians for Human Rights earlier this

year said that exhumation of corpses before an ante-mor-tem database has been com-Tuzla, where they will be ex-amined in a special morgue. There is no ante-mortem data-piled would significantly ready a mountain of evidence

of war crimes after the fall of Srebrenica.

The main bottleneck in the Humanitarian workers in the International Committee tribunal's work has been the of the Red Cross (ICRC) have refusal of the Bosnian Serbs also questioned The Hague to hand over suspects like tribunal's need to exhume all their leader, Radovan Karadthe bodies in the Srebrenica zic, and their military boss. mass graves. ICRC staff argue there is al-General Ratko Mladic — and Nato's reluctance to pursue

them.

Kinkel urges arrest warrant for Serb leaders

WORLD NEWS 7

lan Traynor in Bonn

LAUS KINKEL, the Ger-Aman foreign minister, called at the weekend for international arrest war-rants for the indicted Bosnian Serb leaders, Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, following last week's hearing in The Hague detailing their al-leged complicity in the slaughter of thousands of Bosnian Muslim men at Srebrenica last summer.

"The weight of evidence against Karadzic and Miadic grows more overwhelming every day," Mr Kinkel said. "The massacres, mass rapes and mass mutilation of innocent people may not go unpunished." In an interview published

yesterday, Volker Rühe, the German defence minis-ter, went further, arguing that the two alleged war criminals were the biggest threats to the success of the Dayton peace process, and that Nato troops should seize them. "The interna-tional community can't be led around by the nose any longer. Karadzic and Mladic should be before a court," Mr Rühe said. "If there's no other way, the I-For troops have to arrest them.

He also signalled for the first time that Germany was willing to deploy troops in Bosnia next year as part of a new interna-tional force, if, as expected, the American troops who are currently the mainstay of the Nato force leave at the end of the year, when

Nato's mandate expires. Mr Rühe added that the international powers had to prevent a resurgent war in Bosnia after the expiry of the current mandate. "If need be, it could come to a limited troop deployment in Bosnia. In that, the German military will not stand on the sidelines."

Moscow breaches deal on Chechen checkpoints Nato to upgrade

James Meek in Moscow

USSIA breached one of Rithe most important con-ditions of its truce with rebels in Chechenia yester-day when it failed to disman-tle the fortified checkpoints which control movement around the breakaway

chemia is one in a long list of unresolved problems facing Boris Yeltsin as he facing

warned that they would begin Russian soldiers went on attacking Russian troops dying throughout the election again if the checkpoints were not removed. But a spokesman for government forces said the rebels had never stopped fighting and kidnapping their men. Under the terms of the pre-

liminary peace deal, hastily signed last month to appease Chechen village. And yester-voters before the election, all day in the capital, Grozny, a

But a spokesman for gov ernment forces in Chechenia. Colonel Roman Sokolovsky, said that only four of the 32 remaining checkpoints would be dismantled. He blamed the rebels. "So far they haven't blaued a circle point of the fulfilled a single point of the agreement signed," he said. Col Sokolovsky said two

Boris Yeltsin as he comes down to earth after last week's election victory. Some separatist fighters ment from the combat zone, dying throughout the election campaign and government forces continued to use artil

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of harbouring rebels. At the weekend, a Russian interior ministry officer was fatally stabbed in the throat by unknown attackers near a Chechen village. And yesterremoved by yesterday, given the belief of many in Moscow

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checkpoints were to have Thousands evacuated in Siberian flood havoc

LEAVY rains in Siberla during the past few days, led to flooding which has caused more than Dozens of bridges and £150,000 worth of damage in the Irkutsk region, the Interfax news agency lectric power substations were also damaged, as were crops over an area of 16,000 About 5,000 homes and acres, Russian authorities said

The flood peaked on everal schools and hospitals have been damaged or Thursday and most of the east of the Russian capital, destroyed in the flooding more than 2,200 people who Moscow. — AP.

civilian district administra- | and the Russian-backed govtor was kidnapped and her bodyguard badly injured. ernment in Grozny that the rebels are simply using the truce as a breathing space. The checkpoints, made of vehicle barriers and heavily fortified trenches, are The commander of Russian forces in Chechenia, General supposed to screen traffic for rebels and weapons. Che-Vyacheslav Tikhomirov, on Saturday attacked the idea of

talks with the separatists. "The attempt to carry out a chens accuse soldiers of extorting money in exchange constructive dialogue with for passage. There was always doubt that the checkpoints would be bandits will lead to nothing. It will only allow those who are not interested in peace to restore their lines of com-

Jon Henley in Helsinki

HE environmentalists

are delighted, but 30

slap-happy Finns, a

brace of Swedes and a lone Norwegian already in training in the bug-infested wilds of Lapland are devas-

tated: an unseasonal short-

weekend's agenda.

Damage was estimated by the Russian emergency sit-nations ministry at 1,370 billion roubles (about £180,000). Irkutsk is 2,600 miles

yesterday.

mand, ammunition and weapons, and to train their reserves — that is, the next wave of bandlits."

wave of bandits." However, Interfax news agency reported yesterday that Gen Tikhomirov, the man in charge during last year's series of Russian atroc-tries in villages like Serno-vodsk and Samashki, might soon be replaced

Mosquitoes shun big hunt

soon be replaced. In a further sign that peace hopes were not dead, an emis-sary of Alexander Lebed,

links with Russia President Yeltsin's new national security adviser, met rebel representatives outside were evacuated had Grozny to prepare for a visit returned to their homes

by the former general. Inter-fax news agency quoted "in-formed sources" as saying the emissary. Sergei Drogush, was also expected to meet the rebel military commander, Aslan Maskhadov.

During the election cam-paign, Gen Lebed urged a rad-ical solution to a conflict which has killed tens of thou-sands and created hundreds of thousands of refugees since Russian troops entered Che-chenia in December 1994.

He called for a tightly con-trolled border to be drawn around the southern part of Chechenia, the evacuation of ethnic Russians, and a referendum in that area on its future status.

Gen Lebed is expected to meet today with the Russian prime minister, Victor Chernomyrdin, and members of the federal peace delegation.

cers into its military planning John Palmer in Brussels staff.

Although the Russian gov-BUOYED by Boris Yeltsin's victory in the Nationary the Russian gov-ernment skill opposes any Nato expansion, it now ap-pears to accept the probabil-ity that the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slove-nia will be invited to join either at the end of this year presidential election, Nato is planning to offer Rus-sia what amounts to political membership of the Atlantic alliance. or next spring. The likely ac-cassion of Slovenia - con-Nato leaders plan to go ahead with the policy of en-larging the alliance to central firmed by the US defence sec-retary, William Perry, during his visit to Ljubljana last Europe and the Balkans, but they will also upgrade Rus-sia's "special relationship" week - would mean an ex-

Win Nato. When you look at the areas of potentially very close together, it really would amount to a kind of political membership," a senior Nato At present the community of the first wave of central European members central European members due to doubis about their At present the concept of a purely political membership of Nato does not exist. All member states have to accept tentions to join Nato.

Denmark and Norway are among Nato members press-ing the claims of Estonia, Lat-via and Lithuania, but other a collective security commit-ment, which could involve them in the defence of any member state subject to ag-gression. Russia's political members believe this would membership, however, would not involve it signing article 5, which embodies the collecbe too great a provocation to the Russian military and nationalists in the government. In the case of countries in tive security commitment.

central Europe and the Bal-kans which join Nato, they will be full members with all the rights and obligations which that entrails," a Nato Nevertheless. Moscow would become an equal partner with Nato member states in wider decisions concerning European and global security. Alliance leaders believe this official said.

is possible partly because of the successful partnership be-tween Russia and Nato in the I-for peace enforcement mis-"What we are talking about with Russia is rather differ-ent but very important. It will give the Russians a real sense of joint partnership with Nato in ensuring the security and Javier Solana, said last week: stability of Europe as a whole."

"Nato and Russia share joint responsibilities for European Russia has signed up to Nato's Partnership for Peace security. We must build upon but its government has yet to our success in working together in Bosnia." agree the details of its partici-Senior Russian military pation. Before the presidential election, Moscow asked commanders have been at-tached to Nato's military Nato for a "partnership pact". which is likely to be a foundaheadquarters in Belgium for some months, and Moscow tion for its effective political has agreed to accept Nato offi- membership of the alliance.

"All my aesthetic, my ethic comes from from bad weather."

Mr Salmijarvi had to | tising since early June in overcome opposition from animal rights groups to the

tising since early June in the hope of bettering his tally. Mr Salmijarvi said. "It's very sad for him," he added. "All we can say is we're now applying for a grant to find out where all the mosquitoes have gone." But Pirkko Lankinen of Lapland's nature league, while admitting losing a few hundred mosquitoes event, which requires contestants to strip to the waist, await the whine of few hundred mosquitoes couldn't endanger the species, said the contest should never have been allowed. "We were very disappointed that the envi-

> last year. Now it seems the cold summer has done our work for us. I'm no fan of

observing birds. They are good to their young and to each other. They migrate William Wharton

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sion in Bosnia.

The Nato secretary-general

age of insects has wiped the fifth world mosquito-killthey are the genuine article, and genuinely dead. ing championships off next "Mosquitoes are very cun-ning," Mr Salmijarvi ex-plained. "Sometimes they fake it." 'It's a catastrophe," said Last year's contest netted 360 squashed mosquitoes. The winner, Harri Pellon-

Kai Salmijarvi, one of the organisers in the remote Arctic village of Pelkosenniemi. "No one can under-stand it. Normally there are millions of the damn things. Half the competitors plan their summer

nets and swats are banned. The mangled insects are submitted to a six-strong jury to determine whether

ronment ministry turned down our request to ban it

paa, a student aged 17, mosquitoes, but killing killed 21 - more than three them shouldn't be turned holidays around this - times the previous record. into a sport. They have they're not happy at all." This year he had been prace enough enemies as it is."

mosquitoes and then thwack as many as they can in five minutes. Sprays,

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TheGuardian Monday July 8 1996 Edition Number 46,599 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER Fax No. 0171-837 4530 E-mail: letters@guardian.co.uk

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Labour plays shadow boxing

Avoiding the tough choices

IN AN ideal world a small majority of the Shadow Cabinet — a dozen, maybe — would be elected by MPs, so that the Labour Party leader would then be able to choose the remaining members of his team himself. That would create the best balance in a team which could then translate smoothly into government after a general election. It would mean that MPs would still be able to show their opinion of a core of shadow ministers - a power which they guard jealously in these centra-lised times - but that the importance of the annual elections was also reduced, because the difference between winning and losing would be less critical than it is now. As the general election approached, there would be less at stake in the decision about whether to hold a shadow cabinet election or not.

But this is not an ideal world. Instead, Labour is gearing itself up for a ritual internal battle about whether to hold an election, even though most MPs accept that the results will not bind Tony Blair's hands if and when he comes to select a Labour Cabinet. One of the most depressing aspects of the Parliamentary Labour Party is the obsessive enthusiasm with which it applies itself to these contests. This year, particularly in the wake of the Harriet Harman furore, those passions are more intense than ever. If Labour MPs spent as much of their time and energy campaigning against the Conservatives as they do in plotting against one another, as they do throughout the summer months, the party would be much more impressive than it now is.

Rules must nevertheless be obeyed, as the Arch-bishop of Canterbury says. Labour's rules say there must be a Shadow Cabinet election this autumn, though there will be a general election within a few months. So it is up to Labour MPs to decide in the next couple of weeks whether to go ahead. Weekend reports suggest that many backbenchers are anxious to have their opportunity. But is it grown-up politics to hold such a contest simply in order to give a couple of sitting members a bloody nose, when everyone knows they will be reappointed by Mr Blair anyway? Perhaps MPs want to make a gesture, but if this is the state of mutual mistrust to which Labour is now reduced, it does not say much for the party. The rest of us can only groan that horizons have sunk so low.

The really important question which lies behind the dilemma about the Shadow Cabinet elections is whether all those who are successful in them will automatically get the Cabinet posts to which the party's constitution would appear to entitle them. The problem here is not so much the level of competence of those who are elected, serious issue though that is, but the fact that there are simply too many members of the Shadow Cabinet. John Major's current Cabinet 'numbers 23 members. Labour's Cabinet-in-waiting contained, at the last count, at least 27 contenders, comprisd by MPs, the pa deputy leader, the shadow Treasury Secretary, the shadow Heritage Secretary, the shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (none of these three was elected in the 1995 contest), plus the leader of the Labour Lords and the shadow Lord Chancellor. Labour is also committed to having a women's minister of Cabinet status, and it is unclear whether this job will go to the current shadow or not. When it comes to it, Tony Blair is bound to have to disappoint several people who currently hope Saunders Green to have Cabinet posts. Without a better system of Lydney GL15 4PN. choosing Labour's team, the current agitation therefore seems more than a little pointless.



Letters to the Editor **Drawing morals from Carey**

munity has to accept and hon-our the rules of decent society GEORGE CAREY, sup-ard, commends the 10 com-mandments of Moses, but not

our the rules of decent society (Moral crusade by Carey, July 6), but we shall not achieve this by hammering people and their children with formal Christianity. A main reason why this will not work is that the Church has drifted away from the teachings of that excep-tional man, Jesus, who would have had no taste for the status and glory in which the Church has invested itself. the two great commandments of Christ. Are not immoral actions in our society those that breach the Law of Love? What has the Archbishop to say about the Home Secre-Church has invested itself. Jesus is reported to have said tary's treatment of refugees? R and J Goring. "Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth." 12 Keere Street, Lewes, E Susser BN7 1TY. Now, after 2,000 years of orga nised Christianity, we find ourselves with: "Blessed are

HOW CAN we expect to teach morality to school-children when any current afthe fat cats; for they have infairs lesson would reveal the shameful double standards herited the earth." Getting people back to church is not the answer. Moperpetrated by adults at an inrality is, rather, based on respect for one another and a ternational level?

Hot and cold in Chiantishire

IS IT possible that Mortimer's . "love" of Chiantishire (Sweaty socks in the sundried shires, July 6) simply con-ain by 2050 should be

We preach the virtues of de

for help because it is sud-denly "not in the national in-terest". The Kurds, Russia, Hong Kong and Bosnia are all recent mirrors to our hypoo-risy, accompanied by a deaf-ening silence from the churches. Sierra Hutton-Wilson. Priory Cottage, Evercreech. Somerset BA4 6HX.

THE Archbishop of Canter-bury's appeal for morality is impressive; such a pity — in stressing the 10 commandments - he misses the main point of the teaching of Jesus Christ on the topic. Even St Paul, who often ap-

HOPE

WE

HE Archbishop of Can-terbury is right when he sustains such relationships. insists that every com-the rules of decent society the rules of decent society oral crusade by Carey, Middleser TW119QJ. He world, protectors of the rules of the rules of decent society oral crusade by Carey, for most important aspects of human behaviour "there is claim ourselves guardians of the free world, protectors of the oppressed — and then turn a deaf ear to their pleas tor half because it is goin difference the free world. The protectors of the spectrum a deaf ear to their pleas tor half because it is goin difference the spectrum a deaf ear to their pleas tor half because it is goin difference the spectrum a deaf ear to their pleas 13 Tower Drive, Neath Hill,

Milton Keynes MK14 6HX.

THE Archhishop of Canter-bury bears false witness against millions of ordinary people (most of them parents, ntany of them teachers) who live decent lives and help others to live decent lives, without worshipping imagi-nary beings or obeying arbi-trary commandments. Speaking of commandments, surely the best ones are the negative, "Don't command", and the pos-itive, "Think". And, if you must have one, "Do as you would be done by". Nicolas Walkan

STONE

Nicolas Walker. Rationalist Press Association, pears to represent the right Rationalist Press Associa wing backlash to the new 88 Islington High Street. Christian message, says that Loudon N1 88W.

New Labour's road runs through a new co-operative Europe

The next hope is the neou-NEW Labour's Road To The | Manifesto is paved with | lous incantation of the "stake-bolder". Yet in a world where laudable intentions. Unfortu-nately there is an insurmount-able roadblock labelled "Interall nations accept the over-riding need to be internationally competitive. this concept national competitiveness", and regrettably the party can't even see it. The essence of New is well past its sell-by date. All is not lost however. The document talks of an alliance Labour's programme seems to be to shift resources from social ills to social goods, of independent European states choosing to co-operate. Imagine that the end goal was within a stakeholder society. At the same time "read my the protection and rebuilding lips, virtually no new toxes" are reassuringly mouthed. In-terest rates and inflation will of local economies, that the policies used allowed elected governments to take back conbe nailed down and all this trol of their economies to prowhile being competitive inter-nationalists, rejecting provide their people's basic needs. Such a "People's Protectionism" is required. New

ectionism. Labour's only real hope of achieving its aims is by letting its pro-globalisation blinkers fall from its eyes. Then it can It just doesn't add up. Al-though cannily retusing to say whether they will join the single currency, their goals of low inflation and interest rates reject the oxymoronic idea that you can have full employare core ideals of EMU. Unfortunately their support for greater European economic in-tegration will oblige them to sign on the EMU dotted line. Using today's official figures this will require a staggering £18 billion cut in public expenditure to meet the single cur-rency's sado-monetarist convergence criteria. There goes the social agenda!

Tim Lang. 11 Park House Gardens, East Twickenham, Middlesez TW1 2DF.

ment and improved social con-ditions while subjugating your economy to international competition. This is the road New Labour and the rest of Europe needs to search for and follow Colin Hines.

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------**Edward Heath at 80**

The best ex-premier we ever had

SIR Patrick Mayhew, whose retirement from Parliament at the next general election was announced yesterday, is 66 years old. Some time next year, a beneficiary of the unwritten constitutional convention under which all former Cabinet ministers are entitled. to be enobled, he will duly take his place in the House of Lords. There, over the unfolding years, he will ease himself into a characteristic British political retirement - turning up in the Lords once or twice a week, writing a discreet and balanced memoir, not speaking much in public, voting from time to time against the Conservative line on some esoteric point, turning himself into a useful committee man, perhaps taking the odd directorship to maintain himself and Lady Mayhew in the manner appropriate to their station.

Compare and contrast Sir Edward Heath, 30 years old tomorrow and once again a Conservative candidate at the next general election, just as he has been (and successful every time) at the previous 13. If ever a man was entitled to retire to almost universal applause, it is Sir Edward. All the honours to which Sir Patrick can look forward, plus others which are uniquely the due of a former premier, would await him. Yet Sir Edward is determined to press on into another Parliament and, who knows, perhaps beyond that too. Depending on the date of the general election after next, Sir Edward may by then have joined Lloyd George and Churchill as one of only three 20th century parliamentarians to have served more than 50 years in the Commons. Among living MPs only Tony Benn, also elected first in 1950 but without Sir Edward's uninterrupted subsequent years at Westminster, can rival him. Whatever else divides those two, both seem determined to resist the lure of the Lords, and to remain in the House of Commons to the end. This undeflected commitment to the elected chamber is not the least of either man's distinctions.

Sir Edward's Oxford contemporaries, Lord Healey and Lord Jenkins, are frequently mentioned on the list of best Prime Ministers we never had. Sir Edward was not a particularly successful PM, but he is without a challenger as this country's best ex-Prime Minister. Among 20th century premiers only Balfour, Lloyd George and Thatcher have played much of a role after leaving Downing Street, but none has played such a useful or interesting one as Sir Edward after leaving the highest office. Twenty-two years after he was driven out of power. Sir Edward Heath shames his younger colleagues. He remains one of the few senior Conservatives who is prepared, whatever the circumstances, to continue the fight against both the free market individualists and the anti-European nationalists who have Green Park. When, breathless, taken over the party he once led. When the history of I caught up with him, he imthe late-20th century Tory party comes to be written. that may come to be seen as his most important contribution of all. Long may it continue.

sisted of con weather and the wine? Once local effects of global warming we have the climate up here in could produce the very opposite of all he hopes for. The pos-sibility of a warmer world and South-east England, global warming can turn Raly into a desert and John couldn't care less. Hope no one in Italy who thinks John's a friend reads a colder Northern Europe has to be taken seriously. One scenario that has that piece. Chin-chin. Kate de Selincourt. Forest Cottage,

recently been proposed (Scien-tific American: November 1995) suggests that with the melting of Greenland ice the circulation of ocean currents will be disrupted, causing a de-flection of the Gulf Stream to the South Atlantic and the IOHN Mortimer's attempt to Urubbish global-warming

forecasts was as casually igno-rant a piece of irresponsibility onset of Arctic conditions in Britain. Such a climate preas I have seen in some time. vailed in Europe during the Perhaps contributors of such articles should be required to explain how they think we can Pleistocene epoch and has been the norm for the past 2 million years. Our present cli-mate, which has lasted a mere continue to get away with pumping into a thin atmo-10.000 years, could be regarded simply as a warm interglacial sphere thousands of billions of tonnes of gases that we know — yes, know — trap heat. Elsewhere in the paper, Paul Brown's description of melting

Mortimer's dreams of a future Chiantishire in south-ern England should therefore ern England should therefore be chastened by the possibility that, rather than "siestas in Swindon", it may turn out to be snowshoes in Slough. Tim Megarry. School of Social Sciences, University of Communich alpine glaciers dealt with just one of the lines of evidence that a faint, early signal of human enhancement of the greenhouse threat is already

(Dr) Jeremy Leggett. 37 Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6AU. University of Greenwich, Avery Hill Road, Avery Hill Road, London SE9 2HB.



THE Prime Minister's inten-tion to return the Stone of people to wherever they have lived. I am a Scotsman and Scone to Scotland could not have been handled in a more incompetent way. Why not let the Queen make the gesture herself, instead of involving have more claim to the stone than the Queen of England. It is also wrong for Mr For-syth to state that the stone is being moved from one part of

partisan political opinion? The decision reeks of political expedience. Perhaps the rallying cry of Mel Gibson's William Wallace the kingdom to another; it is going to be moved from one kingdom to another kingdom. There is also no need for the stone to be sent to Westminster is becoming more feasible: Scotland's destiny is now back in its own hands — at least

for the next coronation. If the next monarch wishes to be next monarch wishes to be King or Queen of Scots, then he or she should go to Edin-burgh and be so crowned — an undertaking that the present

A Country Diary

THE LAKE DISTRICT: Many | menacing. And later, from the cheekily, that the walk up Great Gable from Honister Pass would be a suitably gentle walk for octogenaritop, all the highest peaks in England ranged along the borizon and Wastwater reaching out to the sea. You could hardly see more dramatic beauty in any walk in Eng-land but, despite this, I was ans. Now, as I approach my late eighties, I'm not so sure. Two of us did the walk the almost longing for the grassy Howgills or the friendly lime-stone of the dales. In truth, we have kicked our hills to death other day in reasonable weather, coming back by Beck Head and Moses' Trod, but long before we got down to the top of the pass my feet and I can only feel grateful that I knew them before their and toes were in a dreadful state. The trouble is the in-creasing stoniness of the route — indeed, of most of the popular routes in the Lakes deterioration, and sympa-thise with those who have grown up with the stones, knowing nothing better. Over knowing nothing better. Over the years, experiments with different types of boots, foot anpliances, taying, padding and so on have all failed but now I'm going to try out ani-mal wool, bought from the chemist, twisted between and around my toes to see if that helps. Joss Naylor, who recently went over 60 peaks to mark his 60th birthday, shuffe however much you try to avoid the eroded tracks. The walk bears little resemblance to the ramble along grassy trods I knew 60, or even 20, years ago. The only thing that years ago. The only using that kept me going was the mag-nificence of the changing views — the whole length of Buttermere, sparkling in the sunshine, the great bulk of mark his 60th birthday, stuffs his running shoes with wool from his Herdwicks to ease Pillar rearing up ahead, and Pillar rearing up ahead, and then. turning a corner, the first glimpse of Gable Crag, dark, gloomy and slightly his feet and it seems to work well enough.

A HARRY GRIFFIN



Roy Hattersley

Endpiece

ecoming clear.

HE story which follows reveals me as a syco-phant, but it is true and I tell it as the introduction to a political parable. The hero of the prelude is a man who, after RH Tawney, has more allegories to his name than any other philosopher this century - John Kenneth Galbraith, who is

also the tallest radical thinker of his generation. droppings. Yet, he said, to the bewil-His size is important. For

ast week, as a taxi drove me down Constitution Hill, I saw him towering head and shoulders above the crowd which was hanging around outside Buckingham Palace. I admire Galbraith to a point which is only just on the right side of idolatry. So I persuaded competition does not solve all the driver to make an emerour economic problems gency stop and pursued the 88seemed too unimaginative to year-old professor across Green Park, When, breathless, develop to the great man. So I shall try it on you. A couple of days before my

mediately launched into a new Galbraith aphorism. My bobby-soxing was vindicated

wealth as a certain way to benefit the poor - had, Gal-braith solemnly announced, been superseded by a new metaphor. I should concen-The transporter occupied one-and a half carriageways. The police car, over its right trate my mind on "the horse and sparrow principle", an ir-refutable argument in favour of increasing inequality. Surely, he said, it was obvi-ous even to me that the more shoulder so to speak, com-pleted the job of keeping the rest of the traffic down to a timid single file. As far as I could make out, the whole grain a horse consumed the greater quantity of ordure it produced. Sparrows have cavalcade moved at a speed something between 10 and im-perceptible miles per hour. everything to gain from the opportunity to pick a better class of husk from the at least 300 cars in the

following pack. Like me, each one had rather more than 45 derment of thinking people — minutes added to the time it or at least, to thinking mil-lionaires — old-fashioned socialists still wanted to deny bury junctions. Let us reasoniffe's droppings to society's ably assume that, in half of sparrows by increasing top tax rates. After that, my "boat on the motorway" proof that the other half carried a single

passenger. I have no idea what it cost the owner of the boat to hire the transporter. But the price paid by the drivers and passengers who

followed totalled more than walk in the park, I had 300 working hours, or nearly of the Sparkbrook co driven, in company with sev-eral hundred other frustrated time. That does not take ac-powered motorcycles

ship, whatever its type, was tions or the bill for extra pet on a massive transporter and accompanied by a police car. The transporter occupied one-health service imposed by and-a-half carriageways. The The loss of 300 working hours is enough to make my point. Anyway, I want to examine another assumption. Let us accept, at least for the sake of argument, that

The Shadow Cabinet

should be forced to drive down the M40 behind a trawler

on a transporter

whoever owned the boat was promoting his own best commercial interests by sending it along the inland route. The belief of businessmen in what is best for business has never seemed wholly convincing to me since BSA, once the pride of the Sparkbrook constituency, decided that highwould

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The trickle-down theory - motorists, down the M40. We count of the losses incurred never sell in England. There by which the rich justify their were following what I eventu-wealth as a certain way to ally took to be a trawler. The an hour late at their destina-tion the bill for event the bill fo used to be. But, even if indus try is not as clever as industry believes itself to be, in a try believes itself to be, in a free society entrepreneurs have a right to make their own mistakes. Applying the principle that John Stuart Mill thought essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of liberty, a question immediately arises. Do we have the right to behave in a way which increases other companies marginal costs?

holes. I used to believe that it was hused to believe that it was because they are incalculable that such costs were regarded as of no consequence. Trea-To ask the question will be interpreted by some extrem-ists as a challenge to the exts-bence of a market economy. It is no such thing. It is a chalsury accounting pays no lenge to the iron law which dogmatically claims that one dogmatically claims that one principle of production and distribution will, if rigidly ap-plied, invariably produce a better result than any of the alternatives. Because the am not sure that conventional thinking left has lost its intel-

which is deseminated by busi-nessmen. Before Labour's lectual self-confidence, these days that view is barely chalfinal manifesto is written, the entire national executive and lenged. So we accept the pro-Shadow Cabinet should be liferation of buses and coaches which block up our forced to drive down the M40 behind a trawler on a transcity roads without even try-ing to calculate whether they bie of the ship that should increase individual comfort have gone by sea.

in Bosnia with The war crime brought to just and collective efficiency by producing cheap travel or if they reduce both those condinot necessarily actin a Hague tions by slowing down the other traffic. And we never even think about the consequences when employing the from there evel uvely then here cheapest contractors to repair cheapest contractors to repair our roads. Often they are the cheapest because they rely on muscle rather than machinthe Serb heads Pale, But the B he. Madic and cominals men ery. That also make them the slowest - with incalculable lastly, we are consequences for the people who have to drive around the to have patient Peace is still to be certain. It will be built? Which is what and Dusan are trying to do.

SHE SHOLED H -E

هجذا من الرعما

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Bosnia Diary

RED

Per.

Paddy Ashdown

USAN points to a D mound of earth, art-fully hidden among the trees. "We shot at you from here." A year ago, Du-san was in the Serb army, besiefing Saraiana A yoon besieging Sarajevo. A year ago these guns were what I feared most, trying to slip into Sarajevo on the Mount Igman road. The road is empty now — just a moun-tain track. Then it was the city's lifeling. I recall, very precisely, the terror with which I watched these trees as we careered down that track past burning vehicles in the grey light of a Sara-jevo dawn, wondering from behind which one the tracer bullets might start sprouting towards us.

We move on to the house of one of Dusan's friends, where we sit drinking Sliwowicz while they ex-change stories about the war. There is Bruno, a Croat Dusan has known all his life, and Alan, a Muslim. They had all fought, on different sides, in the battle for Mount Igman, whose black shape

now towers above us in the gathering dusk. The talk is full of laughter. It is not about the horrors of the war, but of its stupidities: Dusan tells us he was imprisoned by every side during the war. He says the Muslim prisons were the best. Bruno and Dusan joke about their experiences, manning opposite trenches at a crossroads in the sub-urbs. The trench lines were eight metres apart. Before the war one of Sarajevo's most famous cafés stood bere. Sometimes, they tell me, when two opposing units from the same Sarajevo suburb manned the trenches, old friends would sit and drink coffee together in the middle of the road, until driven back by the next artil-

lery barrage. Today Dusan leads a small group of Serbs, who resisted the propaganda from his own side and the fears of the other, and decided to stay in the city. Alan is committed to protecting their rights. And Bruno is standing (with the support of Dusan and his community), in the city elections on September 14. Un-fortunately, this will not be typical — it will be the excep tion. The elections will not break down the ethnic divisions, they will confirm them. But then, how could it be otherwise? The country has been engaged in a geno-cidal war for four years. And these elections have been timed, not for Bosnia but for the presidential election in America.

Right-on to hand over if you've had it

running the Lottery. Equally, Abbey National's advertisements this week for its new "Millennium" bond,

maturing in the year 2000,

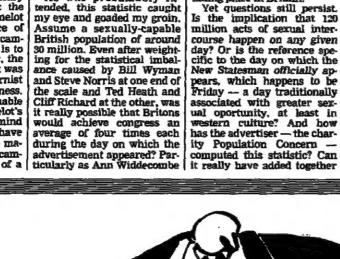
were, to us, of more cultural than financial interest. How

Commentary

Mark Lawson

many more companies, we wondered, would take advan-tage of the fervour surround-ing time's impending triple T is said that much of the zero score? How many cars and chocolate bars and per-fumes called Millennium will we have to endure? work of Manhattan psy-choanalysts involves people traumatised by their inability to understand the cartoons in the New So it comes as a shock suddenly to encounter ads that you don't understand, whose Yorker. Similarly, a key rite of passage in British middleof passage in British middle. class adolescence is the mo-ment when you realise that you comprehend most of the for my examples. It is a vertireferences in an edition of cal half-page — appearing in Private Eye. There is a glow the New Statesman and other that comes from breaking the code; a chill that follows from which begins with the bold sensitive publications — which begins with the bold-print declaration: 120 Million the inability to do so. When it comes to advertis-Acts Of Sexual Intercourse ing, we sophisticated consum-Will Happen Today. As was presumably in-tended, this statistic caught ers of the late 20th century like to think we've got the code broken. When Camelot used pictures of a piece of cake in its corporate campaign about how hard it is to run the National Lottery, the

company imagined that it was making wry, post-modernist use of a cliché about easiness. But, hardened unspinnable cynics that we are, Camelot's visual gag brought to mind the one about trying to have your cake and eat it. We maevolently fantasised a campaign in which a photo of a



Its lurid arithmetic of international shagging appears one page before the maga-zine's lonely hearts ads. which seems tactless. But, to be fair, it seems to be seeking donations only from copula-tors. "If you had sex and reproductive choice today," the appeal concludes, "help us give more women the chance to choose." So - logically - if you didn't get anything that day, you needn't give anything. It's like a right-on equivalent of Chris Evans's celebrated drive-time tercourse requires two partic-ipants and so 30 million Brit-

Die 1:50

It's safest to assume that the 120 million daily love-makers belong to that special-

Its lurid arithmetic of international shagging appears

one page before the lonely hearts

ised and problematic body of knowledge: ad facts, state-ments which hope to hook the eye without engaging the brain. There's another one, a few pages later in the same magazine: "80 Per Cent Of The World's Population Is Waiting For A Phone", Cable & Wireless advise us, below an amusing picture of a Wimbledon-like queue outside a phone booth But so what? Is this statistic supposed to make British subscribers feel better about de-

vice? And what does the figure actually mean? It pre-sumably includes at least a couple of billion people who have either never heard of telephones or could not afford screwing up.

one if they had. What a sur-real world is conjured up by these ad facts: 120 million acts newspaper quantity-of-bonking surveys from every nation of the world? in fact, the more closely the advertisement is examined, the more bizarre it becomes. would they be better able 10 arrange sexual liaisons? Would the incidence of tele-What is happening here, I think, is that advertisers'

awareness of the cynicism and sophistication of readers and viewers has led them to play with an ever greater legree of spin. They risk, however, simply mystifying. Take the book publisher HarperCollins. Having already chosen to market the paper-back of Martin Amis's novel The Information merely with

The information merely with a white lower-case letter "i" on a blue background — a cleverness which some book-sellers believe has depressed the title's sales — it is cur-rently promoting Steve Jones's genetics book. In The Blood, in newspaper ads with the copyline: "Discover why you're tight fisted for only 20." But again this attenut to Ros Coward HE big news at the Atlanta Olympics is the extraordinary change in women's participation. News-week is calling 1996 the Year of the Women which the Year

week is canning 15th the tear of the Women, claiming "fe-male athletes are the Olympi-ans to watch". Jackie Joyner Kersee is the "best woman athlete ever". German swim-mer Franziska Van Almsick is "the country's premier metric hard". 'Jang Universit But, again, this attempt to beg money begs questions in-stead. The semiotics of this campaign are mind-boggling. Can they really mean to sug-gest that readers who have so far failed to buy the book are mean? Is the phrase "for only 520" an incredibly sophistisports' bero"; Zheng Haixa, at 6ft 10in is "the most dominant women's basketball player in the world". The male bastions of sport have been crumbling daily. This year alone England has cist tell you about yourself --and then see if your friends agree with him" -- that the volume is some kind of astrology, affering individual read ing rather than scientific findings for a tribe. You begin to suspect that HarperCollins possesses the suicide gane. However many million acts of sexual intercourse happen today, there will certainly be many instances of advertisers

COMMENT AND ANALYSIS 9 The Olympian of sexual intercourse will happen today; 80 per cent of the world's population is waiting for a phone. Discuss. If more of them had phones, to come



extraordinary, almost homo erotic, hymn to men as bear-ers of heroism and skill, as if only men had access to the highs and lows of sport's "universal feelings". In such context women's sports look not so much on the last leg towards equality as on their last legs.

Away from the Olympian heights, sport still enters pop-ular consciousness in highly gendered ways. For boys, sport usually means member-ship of amateur clubs and teams where they experience mini-versions of the profes-sionals' camaraderie and heroism. For the majority of women, sport means some thing very different, some-thing more interior and indi-vidualistic. Women's most popular sports are aerobics, or workouts on fitness machines, and occasionally jogging. Above all, this is a com-mitment to the appearance of the body. They are introspec-tive preoccupations which happen in interior places. Gyrus, the modern day tor-ture chambers, are places

seen the first woman ride in the Derby and the first womremoved from nature and external spaces. The ideal female Olympic an in the pavilion at Lord's. Now women also appear to be equalising on performance. Research published in the journal Nature suggests that on current showing, women champions remain the women with these perfect bodies — the swimmers, the young gymnasts, the skaters. It would be nice to imagine may soon out-perform the men in endurance events like swimming and the marathon. that the Olympic souvenir Barbie would be a shot-putt Barbie with suitable thighs. Apparently we have better reserves of fat — hardly news Sadly, it's another gymnast Barbie. Such images of sport to some of us. The more women compete, the more their bodies change

are internalised by children. as any teacher will tell you who has watched boys claimit seems, challenging the biological foundation of sexual discrimination. Women's Wimbledon is no longer a ing at the edges.

sideshow of frilly underwear. Now hard-bodied dyke icons with power serves are more reliable than the men. So confident do women seem about eventually closing the gender gap that it's even fashionable to love football. But for those of as who still But for those of as who still find the idea of the plimsoil as a fashion statement absurd, this participatory euphoria seems premature. Men's sports, especially those like football with working class origins, may have shed their disciplinary and public school associations. But

ing the main space with their football, and girls cartwheel-HERE children of both sexes are en-couraged equally. women make extraordinary gains. China's women's team has risen farther and faster than any team of either gender in the history of the women's team sports are remote from sport's new ide-ologies of individual skill, Even the Chinese are beginprofessionalism and financial ning to worry about the exces-



piss-up in a brewery was used | revealed in an interview last as the visual comparison for | week ("Yuk: 1 don't miss that") that the scorers can no longer call on her. Consider, too, that an act of sexual in-

week and might meet some-

Thankfully, the small print second line of the ad - "But

many millions of women across the world do not have

want" — suggests that the sta-tistic may be international.

Assuming a global population of about six billion people,

this means that only around every 50th citizen would be

required to perform, with only one million of the acts taking place in Britain.

one, seems a stiff order.

ons coupling would be entered on the ledger as only 15 million acts, thus requir-ing each of us to do it eight threes in order to substantiate radio feature: "Honk if you had it last night." times in order to substantiate the advertisement's claim which, even allowing for the fact that Edward Heath is having a birthday party this

here will be intimida tion; though probably less than was feared. There will be vote rigging: though hopefully only at the margin. By the rigorous standards of the rest of Europe, these elections will be flawed. They should, however, be regarded not as an end. but as a beginning - a first step towards democracy, not its achievement. With the likely exception of the Karadzic-controlled areas of the Bosnian Serb republic, they probably will command respect who matters — in Bosnía. A Bos-nian friend put it this way: Time is the best friend Bos nia has, and these elections will give us time." What the international community now has to do is to make the best use of it.

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First of all, we must decide soon to replace I-For. Each side and every Bosnian political party agrees, as does every military commande and international official I spoke to. Our leaders simply lied to us when they said it would be over in a year. It will take years to establish an unchaperoned peace in Bosnia. It will be expansive. But not as expensive as Bos-nia and the Balkans returning to war. Second, after the elections the delayed recon-struction of Bosnia and its democratic institutions must start in earnest. Third, we cannot have a durable peace in Bosnia without justice. The war criminals must be brought to justice. This does not necessarily mean Karadzic in a Hague prison immediately. He could probably stage an election campaign from there even more effec tively then he can isolated in the Serb headquarters in Pale. But the Hague is where he, Mladic and the other war criminals must end up. And lastly, we are going to have to have patience.

Peace is still far too fragile to be certain. And if it comes it will be built little by little. Which is what Bruno, Alan and Dusan are desperately trying to do.





John Gray suggests that Labour's pre-manifesto document shows how the modernisation of social democracy will mean cultivating a new form of capitalism

Revival of reforms

ABOUR'S pre-mani | tion. The old left thinking of the task that Labour will | italism. But will these poli- | be judged to be economically successful? Nevertheless, the Labour. New Life for criticism is the social to the caricatures of the old | The economic culture that only enduring result of new Labour, New Life For Britain, pub-lished last Thursday, marks the end of the new right's hold on British political debate. The policies which the document contains - on infant class sizes, the sentencing of young offenders, NHS waiting lists, reducing mem-

gone for good. In Britain as in other European countries, postwar gov-ernments of all parties pursued social democratic goals of growth, full employment and greater economic equality by implementing Keynes-

ian policies. They were proactive in managing demand and borrowed heavily to finance economic expansion. For a quarter of a century, until the first signs of its right view that the with-drawal of government from the market is enough to asbreakdown became evident in the late seventies, Keynesian policies delivered the goods. sure prosperity and social co-hesion is rejected categori-By the nineties, globalisacally. The role of government in enabling people and enter-prises to survive and thrive tion - the unrestricted movement of capital, goods and information throughout the world --- had limited severely in a dynamic market economy is strongly affirmed. The draft manifesto is eloquent the ability of national govern ments to achieve social demotestimony to the fact that the era of market romanticism, cratic goals by Keynesian means. Governments that whose turmoils and illusions tried to do so, such as Franwe have endured for nearly two decades, is at last over. cois Mitterrand's in the early Yet there remains a lingereighties and the Swedish ing doubt. Are the kinds of Social Democrats in the early

policies canvassed in the docnineties, were ruthlessly pun-ished by world bond and curument sufficient to ensure rency markets. In a globalised that the market becomes society's servant and ceases to be economy of this sort there can its master? Or has electoral be no going back to the policaution worked to understate cies that underplaned social democracy in the postwar the scale of the changes needed to reform the winner-take all brand of capitalism period.

By accepting that the goals

new and the second s

for criticism is the social democratic thinking of a genleft and the new right, the economic philosophy it ex-presses is not at all Thatcher-ism with a human face. Nor eration or a decade ago. That is the point of the prominent and repeated references to tough new rules for public spending and borrowing. The has it much, if anything, in common with Owenite social democracy. New Life For Britain is, in fact, the begin-nings of a programme for the modernisation of social old model of social democracy presupposed a world which the document accepts has

mocracy. A Labour government that is committed to finding new means to achieve traditional social democratic goals will have to do so in an economic and political environment that has been deformed by



nearly two decades of new right policies. UCCESSIVE Conservative governments have made policy on the neoliberal dogma which condemns as state interference any attempt to lay down

are indisputable. New right policy rests on the assumption that social co-hesion follows, virtually auto-matically, from economic success. When you come to think about it, this is a very odd ground rules for market exchange that goes beyond the prohibition of fraud and coerfoundation for policy; espe-cially when you consider the

cion. For the new right the idea that a framework for the States. But the strangest asmarket should express and entrench society's common pect of new right theory is that it considers economic sense of fairness was - and remains - anathema. The result is the neo-Victorian success and social cohesion to be distinct goals that can be parody that is economic life in Britain today, in which pursued and reached senarately. The evidence from truly successful market econwomen workers at home earn ess than 11 an hour while omies, in East Asia and in executives in the privatised European countries such as utilities collect indexed pen-Austria, Germany and Norsions of more than £100,000 a way, is that an economic culyear. The mini-manifesto's ture of trust and commitment commitments to a minimum is vital to long-term prosper wage, to signing up to the ity. Companies themselves take-all brand of capitalism by accepting that the goals that new right policies have of social democracy can no produced? In one of its aspects the by Keynesian policies, the draft manifesto represents a further stage in modernisa- nises the daunting magnitude tremes of winner-take-all cap. A fractured and riven society itself for the long bau.

only enduring result of new Labour stands to inherit is right policy may prove to be the importation into Britain one that has been relentlessly of some distinctively Amerireshaped in accord with new right theories to replicate an American model. British capcan forms of economic and social division. Modernising social democ-

italism is what it is today, in part at least, as a result of almost two decades of state acy means cultivating a new form of capitalism. It does not mean uncritical emulation of intervention, animated by the mission of transplanting American economic individany foreign model. Once we are rid of the incubus of new right policy, we are likely to find ourselves having most in ualism to Britain.

Not all of the economic common with our European pariners; but there is no European variety of capital-ism that can simply be changes of that period have been harmful; but no one -outside the narrowing circles of the new right - could claim that the project of Americanising British capi-talism has been a success. Its adopted here. No western country has yet solved the chief defects of late modern economic results are contro-versial at best; its social costs

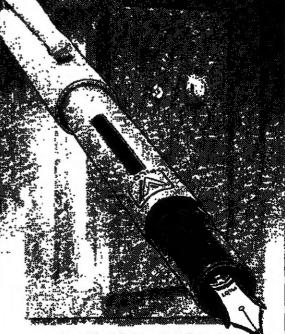
chier denects of late modern industrialism, such as inequi-table access to work and the undoing of valuable institu-tions and communities by global market forces. None of the varieties of western capi-talism has forces a substance talism has found a point of balance between harnessing the dynamism of the market and meeting enduring human needs for security. Yet these are the problems that Labour unparalleled levels of social are the problems that Labour breakdown in the United in power will inevitably confront

If Britain is to be first among European countries in contriving a worthy succes sor to the old forms of social democracy, a further realignment in political life is unavoidable. The neoliberal. English nationalist rump that is presently exercising the sterile power of veto over policy in the Tory party must be excluded from power. Co-operation among all who reject the bankrupt politics of the new right cannot be postponed for much longer. Electoral reform is the logic of events. Labour must prepare

ev still cod SIVE ssures which so images of head girls and dubiparents put on these single children, including handing ous over-identification with them over to military-style organising institutions. Perhaps this is not surprissports camps. But the West has no reason ing in a forthcoming book. The Stronger Women Get. to be smug. Scandals are now The More Men Love Football breaking about the young (Women's Press, August), American girl gymnasts and American author Mariah skaters whose lives have been Burton Nelson argues that sports coverage in the media ruined by unscrupulous trainers and obsessions with dieting. These same disciplin-

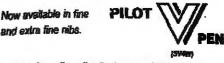
is massively male dominated; women's golf and women's basketball never get coverage ary pressures are internal-ised by millions of women in spite of having vast follow-ings. I would rather watch a who work out at the gym. The only difference is that they are seeking the result of a tap drip than golf on television, but I take her point. "better figure" rather than a The BBC's opening sebetter time against the quence for Euro 96 was an stopwatch. sion, but I take her point.

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PURE LIQUID INK RANGE RAT SMOOTHNESS

ployment among under-25-year-olds, and control of government spending and borrowing — make serious commitments on which Labour in power will expect to be judged. The document's most important feature is not, however, its specific policy pledges. It is the overall approach it embodies. The new

10 OBITUARIES

Kenneth Jameson

Art for the heart's sake

ENNETH Jameson, | primary school teachers and who has died aged 83, was a passionate teacher of art he devoted most of his life to promoting the place of art in education and in emotional development. He saw drawing both as a language and as a tool to develop observation, which could help sustain the enquiring aspect of children. He first showed artistic

promise as a tenor, singing in Ripon cathedral choir. During the war he served in the RAF's education corps. He was already a proficient artist and he painted scenes around the air base where he was stationed. When he was demobbed, painting became his life and he exhibited at the Paris Salon and the Royal Academy.

He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and became a member of the Royal Cambrian Academy. He started teaching in 1948 as art master at Birkenhead School. He then moved to Corsham,

Bath, to enter teacher train-ing college and after qualify-ing became head of art at Tulse Hill school, which at the time was the flagship comprehensive school of the London County Council His positive and lively approach to art education led to his appointment in 1961 as an inspector for the Inner Lon-

don Education Authority. From then on, he becam increasingly involved in how children learn, particularly in the early years of their education. He joined the Societv for Education through Art and soon became president. In 1968 he wrote Pre-School And Infant Art in which he showed how it was possible to evaluate the creative work of children in relation to their age and stage of development.

Matima Mpiosso

Music under African skies

ATIMA Motosso, who | seas triumphs began with a has died aged 45, of | 1976 Ghanaian tour. In the tarist and director of the Zair-generated a craze for Zairean generated a craze for Zairean ean group, Zalko Langa music and led to the Nippon

groups Association and to Merry-go-round, a six part BBC television series on of art for children. He continued to write books, including What's A House, a paper-back about the ways in which children de scribe their homes through drawing and painting, and (together with Pat Kidd, senior adviser to the Inner London Play Groups Associa-tion) Pre-School Play. An-other of his best-sellers was You Can Draw, which was widely translate He campaigned through

many parents, was quickly followed by Junior School Art.

which dealt with children's art in the 8-11 year age range. These books led to him lectur-

ing for the Pre-School Play

ILEA to promote an aware-ness of the value of art in education and in 1970 was appointed to the Schools **Council Arts Committee** where his expertise and knowledge were appreciated. He soon became chair of the group and he continued to oversee meetings with warmth and sensitivity, until ill-health led to his retirement

in 1976. In his retirement, he conthrued to write and there was always a painting to be fin-ished. I have fond memories of this friendly, gentle man who gave so much help and guidance to so many teachers, parents and colleagues. When

asked how he felt today it was always "middling". He will be sadly missed by all who knew him. He leaves a widow, Norma, herself an artist, and two children.

John Jenves

Kenneth Jameson, art educa tionalist, born June 30, 1912; This book, highly prized by died March 17, 1996

time shoppers - any new

live performances but the mu-

The band has retained its

The Ideal Situation: if you are lucky, and this is rarely the case, then you may be on the receiving end of what is only uncome the "deal Situation"

Receiving and of what is only known as the "Ideal Situation". This situation is, of course, the presence of only one urinal. The etiquette here is situple: if

The etiquette here is simple: if it's empty, pee, if it's not, don't. It is always preferable to busy one's self with washroom related activity while waiting for the urinal to free up. Wash your hands, check your hair, check the floor for loose change, do the moonwalk etc. Two Urinal Tango: Chances are that with two urinals, one of

are that with two urinals, one o

them will be occupied. In this case under no circumstances

should you proceed to the uri-nal. To proceed is to pee in one

which is occupied. This is the cardinal sin of urinal stiquette.

Never pee beside someone. In-stead, it is best to busy one's

self with activities mentioned

under the the Ideal Situation, with the possible exception of moonwalking, for which break

dancing should be substituted.

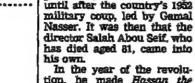
empty urinals, then the natural male tendency to attempt to ac-

Three's company: If you

should come across three

urmal adjoining another

Ancient Egyptian settings. The possibility of a more realistic cinema, indicated in Kalim Selim's Determination (1940), the first major Egyptian film to deal with social problems, did not emerge until after the country's 1952



Cairo, became a civil servant and journalist before entering In the year of the revolu-ion, he made Hassan the Foreman, based on an idea by its star, Farid Chawqi, which revealed the life of the citithe large Misr Studio as a film editor. He started directing in 1946, when singing stars still dominated the industry, and worked in all the zens of a poor neighbourhood accepted genres, being espe-cially successful with several of Cairo. The director, who had been deeply impressed by films based on takes about the the Italian neo-realists, was legendary, pre-Islamic, poet

musicals using Bedouin or



The Guardian Monday July 8 1996

Appreciation

Greek classic myth

HE night Andreas Papandreon died (obiau-ary June 24). I was hav-ing dinner with his family. As he lay on his deathbed, his exwife Margaret and his four children discussed the strange and elusive personality of the former prime minis-ter, a virtuoso of the makeshift, a genius of contingency, who excelled at the sly game of modern statesmanship, its clandestine skirmishing and hidden pulling of strings. On a white wall pert door was painted "Posok, the people's movement". The

2

Greek word for movement is kinema, and popular cinema sinema, and popular cinema is exactly what Papandreou provided as he went from hos-pital check-up to cabinet meeting with his rhetorical violence and political opportunism, a sort of Hellenist Peronist

The impression he conveyed to the world was one of grandeur, self-assurance and patronising pride - he ap-peared to seize destiny. Yet, seen closely, there was a reverse side. Papandreou was PICTURE COURTESY BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE constantly in pain, overcome by waves of lassitude and dif-fidence, subject to depression

and self-pity. Hours after the death, 1 asked his son Nick whether he felt sad that Andreas would now never re-enter Greek political life. "No," he replied. "My father was in so much pain towards the end of his life and under extreme pressure from his party. I feel that he has been liberated by death " "Andreas died with a smile on his face," said Nick's

pected 1993 re-election, Papandreou made a lot of his feat in overcoming not only the jibes of his opponents but also open-heart surgery. A corollary of this miraculous recovery was the inconvenience of having his daily life controlled by nurses and surgeons. His decision not to step down gracefully verged on the bizarre, but there was also something admirable about an old man's continuing preparedness to put his neck on the block. "This is me: unprepared to lead, un-worthy to lead, yet accepting the role thrust on me," Papandreou declared on election night three years ago. He

meant it, too What made Papandreou man of his time was that he demonstrated again and again that it is possible to

entombed entirely within a

bizarre fantasy life and still

wrote a further seven screenplays together, although the novelist refused to adapt his own work to the screen. Nevertheless, he approved Abou Seif's film version of his novel Cairo 30 (1965) and also of his book A Beginning and an End — retitled Dead Amongst the Living (1960) — starring the young Egyptian lead Omar El-Sharif, two years before he Self, right, director in action on location PICTURE COURTERY BRI became the international star In 1951, he collaborated Omar Sharif after his appear-National Culture and with Naguib Mahfouz - one ance in David Lean's Loup-

of Egypt's most important rence of Arabia. But Abou Seif, among others, found that the difficulwriters and later a Nobel prize-winner — on Your Day Will Come, a free adaptation ties of being a Arab film of Thèrese Raquin, Zola's maker increased from 1970s onwards. Even in the more liberalised atmosphere of the passion. The film, which had a naturalism and emotional charge hitherto rare in the Sadat regime. Abou Seif caused controversy and criti-Egyptian cinema, and was claimed to be "among the cism with The Baths of Mala tili (1973) because of its daring most important works in its exploration of sexuality. history" by the internation-The West, meanwhile, in

distributed outside region. After The Death of the Waterbearer (1977), which was awarded best film of the year by the Egyptian Film Association, Abou Setf lost favour with the critics and the public (as had his idol Vittorio De Sica), because of a certain naïveté and lack of political insight

But he continued to live by the credo he once expressed When the cinema is not devoted intimately to man in the act of living, that is to say, man in the act of suffering and struggling to live, or even only to survive; when it doesn't express faithfully and scrupously this life in its in-terminable daily grind, then it is only a simple craft."

Ronald Bergan

Salah Abou Self.

human density, the passion of Arab Muslim life to contradict its limited series of crude

essentialised caricatures" and Arab films were seldom

brother George. In the wake of his unex-

provides the yardstick of all African music and in 1970, Zalko created the and in 1970, Zako created ins new soukous music: Matima Mpiosso composed many hits including Kin Klesse (Kin-shasa Magic). He co-founded Zaiko with ko's hits have been released including composed in the instance of the shase (Kin-instance of the shase (Kin-) (Kin-

three others while at school in Kinshasa. The group dis-placed nonumental big bands with its mix of hard Zairean rhythms, sweet singing and its guitar sound, which has on CD. 24 hours - including a free show for Newcastle's lunchlisteners were worth attract-ing, he believed. A glimpse of his artistry was seen in BBC2's 1989 Under African Skies. Arthritis stopped his since been imprinted across Africa. The dance craze was elevated to a national art form. Operating under the closed system of President Mobutu's "authenticity", Zalko adapted folklore music for a rock group while ex-panding the line-up — there were usually at least 20 musisicians he nurtured — they called him mbuta (elder) did him proud. In a hotel in Kinshasa between its annual

He and Manuaku Waku He and Manuaku Waku were the original solo guitar-ists, whose styles had been inspired by Jimi Hendrix, Led Zeppelin and even Wes European tours, Zalko would rehearse 12 hours a day for weeks on end. Matima weeks on end. Matima Mpiosso, directing the guitar section, worked through every part. Under his direc-tion a keyboard was added, and the soloist Chiro devel-Montgomery. The fusion became the modern sound of the oped a guitar sound mimick-ing hillbilly fiddle - now a continent, and it gave birth to the "fast food" Parisian style which invaded European Zairean music staple. dance floors in the late 198Os. But poor promotion and man-agement meant that Zaïko never truly capitalised on its appeal: even after 26 years, the Zalko generation has not yet been superseded. Mpiosso leaves a wife and

originality. Mpiosso lived in a modest children. Kinshasa house in the atmo-spheric Matonge district. He was quiet and reflective, and thought seriously about his art and its relationship with clan, born April 14, 1951; died

cian, born April 14, 1951; died other cultures. Zaiko's over- | May 26, 1996

Jackdaw



Toilet tips

A NOTE on talking: usually, talking at a urinal situation is frowned upon. Conversation may occur directly prior to urinal use, or directly after it, but while engaged at the urinal, verbal communication should be nil. Furthermore, actual conversation may only occur between two individuals who entered the washroom together. Under no circum-stances should you start a conversation with someone whom you discovered to be in the bathroom when you arrive. A simple grunt or monosyllabic word is acceptable to acknowledge the other's existence, but that is all.

and and a start of the start of

Banzai album, which he shie to mai te a film of social owned director You Edward Said's words, refused I directed. The group visited Europe every year. In 1989 concern, and was encouraged | chief and a black slave. self Chahine. He was greatly to allow "the detail, the 1996

novel of destructive sensual

Dermot Grubb

Within these walls On a short British tour in 1991, he played three gigs in

by the new Ministry of

He was born in Boulaa in

Guidance

ERMOT Grubb, who vice by another Quaker, Dun- he was supported by the has died aged 76, was can Fairn. He started in 1963 Quaker meeting, its worship a prison governor who took his Quaker as a housemaster (assistant governor) at Huntercombe sense of purpose into Oxford, Borstal and remained strongly influenced by its ec-centric. vividly humane Bedford and Horfield prisons He was Dublin-born and never quite lost his Irish ac-cent, although he was edu-cated in England from the age founding governor, Sir Al-meric Rich. At Wakefield, he was the first tutor of the assisof 12. He possessed a copy of Liddell Hart's *TE Lawrence* which had been inscribed by WH Auden, his teacher at Downes School, "To Noah with love from God" — they tant governors' staff course and was then posted to Wandsworth. From 1960 to 1967, he ran a daringly origi-nal regime within the forbid-ding walls of H and K wings. had acted these parts in a Chester Mystery Play. After Bryanston School he read English for a wartime year at Debates, work for outside charities, and outsider participation were all tried and within the restricted expecta-Wadham College, Oxford As tions of the time they were a a pacifist, he was directed to work for the Friend's Relief heady experience. That work did not long survive his de-parture but it has become Service in the London shel-ters and with East End evacu-

cumulate power and property

might lead you to try the middle urinal. Unfortimately,

in some countries, to do so is punishable in manners un-

speakable. For to choose the

middle urinal is to deny any

subsequent patron of the urina

the opportunity to pee in isola-

tion while you are at your busi-ness and therefore is an act of

pure, unadulterated selfish-

ness. Instead, one should im-

mediately proceed to the end urinal which is furthest from

the door, or alternatively, best smelling. If two urinals are

occupied and they are the two

which were described earlier,

especially nose scratching and

Five, five, five: Because the

number of urinals is increas-

ing, it becomes increasingly difficult to assess the situation

while still maintaining an en-

tirely casual and matter of fact

air. At this point, practice is essential. Use mirrors to scan

the urinals, tie your shoe with-

out ever taking your eyes off the urinals and appear at all

times that you are not actually

examining the urinals.

end urinals then one should proceed with delay tactics

armpit sniffing.

part of the prison service's ees. He also worked in the mythology. first Citizens Advice Bureau and long after found special pleasure in retirement chair-ing the Wesses CAB. His first governorship was at Oxford. He so developed university links, especially with the Institute of Criminol-Postwar, he worked with the youth service but was recruited into the prison serogy's Nigel Walker, that he was awarded an honorary degree. Wherever he worked,

Some essential etiquette at

gpu.srv.ualberia.ca/-msykes/

More madness

THE DISCUSSION on mad

cow disease has led to a lack

of consumer confidence in France — on nothing like the

British scale, but enough for the French agricultural lobby

to roll its propaganda ma-chine into action. What was clearly needed was to distin-

guish French (and by implica-

tion "safe") beef from British (for which read "dangerous")

beef. It's easy, someone thought we just invent a label which can go on French meat. So a label, in the blue, white,

and red of the national colours

basis of the initials VF, mean

ing viande françoise. It was only once the label started to

appear that it was realised VF

(mad cow). The label was hast-

could also read as vache folle

ily redesigned to include the words in full.

Meantime, the well-estab-

lished dairy manufacturer Bel

issued a solemn communiqué

to point out the cow in the

world-famous logo on their

was duly invented, on the

and network of practical help. He always involved the community in the prison's work, while running an efficient organisation with precise at-tention to detail. He then governed Bedford Prison, which - with its association with John Bunyan — was pecu-liarly suited to his sympathies.

His promotion came in 1976 to the governorship of Bris-tol's Horfield Prison, where his managerial style and com-munity involvement are still warmly remembered. His retirement. together with his Quaker faith, led

him to become a member of the Meeting for Sufferings and the Quaker penal affairs committee. He travelled nasurvived by his wife, Jane tionwide supporting Quaker a doctor, by his step-son and two adopted children. Ministers in prisons. Locally, he worked with the Bristol Council of Churches and the

Michael Selby Housing Association. My experience, having been guided — when a young man — through the intricacies of Dermot O'Callaghan Grubb,

pargeful of cows down the

Seine, like some latterday Noah's ark, to signify the

for this to do more than cause

bewilderment to the Japanese tourists who take over Paris

each summer. The Tablet discovering evi-

that have gone mad.

Dog tales

prison governor, born April 16, 1920; died May 18, 1996

Vache qui rit cheese was only smiling in pleasure and not laughing in mad hysteria. Another exploit was to sail a sion, euthanasia. The presi-dent of the National Psycho-logical Association for Psy-choanalysis has observed ruefully: "How ironic that we seem to care more about the happiness of animals than threat to the species since the market collapsed. But there was too much competing news

humans".... In the end, it is not substitution or anthropomorphism that produces the human love of dogs and the current preoccupation with them in our colture. The pathos of



have a shrewd and calculat ing sense of self-advancement - that such a state is practi-Birthdays ****************************

- that such a state is practi-cally a precondition for real success in today's politics. (Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher come into mind.) In contemporary Greece, any sense of what you're doing and why you're doing it - swan if the action is call. - even if the action is self-destructive and the reason is provisional - constitutes a moral triumph.



Letter

.............................. M Wilde writes: If Ian Katz's Margaux Hemingway obitu-Margaux Hemingway Obitu-ary (July 3) had been commis-sioned to lampoon misogynis-tic excess it couldn't have been worse. Veronica Hor-well's ensuing observations symphacical that Homismon emphasised that Hemingway Kellett-Bownan, Conserva-tive MP. 72: Dr Peter Knight, vice-chancellor, University of Central England in Birming-ham, 49: Steve Lawrence, had good years, successes, she was athletic, beautiful, a pioneer in the modelling orld. Women are bored with hairy grunt-journalism.

singer, 61; Pauline Quirke, actress, 37; The Rt Rev Derek Rawcliffe, assistant bishop. Ripon, 75; Ron Ru-bin, jazz musician, 63; Wal-In Memoriam ter Scheel, former president,

HEATHER-HAYES, Jun. died tragically aged 18 years, 7.7.62. "Shine on Jun".

BTO place your announcement talep 0171 713 4567. Fex 0171 713 4129.

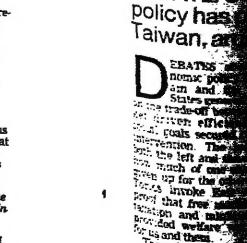
machine. Home is where the

neglected, or maltreated ani-mals — from Homer's loyal Argus to yesterday's Mama dog is. If the dog brings back the fifties in a miniaturised form, it's because the dog is and Baby - speaks, some-how, to the rootlessness and what we would have liked to have been to our nostalgia inherent in the postmodern condition, Bless parents: totally lovable, totally loved. The puppy repre-sents what the yupple fanta-sises about childhood, what postmodern condition. Bless-edly, dogs are free of irony and are strangers to cynicism (despite the etymology of the word — from the Greek kyni-kos, "doglike"). In a relent-lessly ironic age, their uncriti-cal demeanour is perhaps just what we need. It is with dogs that very offen, we nermit the older person fantasises about youth, what the city: dweller fantasises about the country, what the weary workaholic fantasises about freedom, what the human spouse or partner fantasises about spontaneity and emotional generosity. In soft-focus television commercials, and at the front door, the dog, leash patiently in mouth, is always waiting for you. Marining for you. Marjorie Garber in the New Yorker contemplates what the dog symbolises to the human in postmodern society.

> Jackdaw wants jewels. E-mail Jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-713 4366; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London ECIR SER.

> > a de la management de la segui

Emily Sheffield



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that, very often, we permit ourselves feelings of the deep-est joy and the deepest sorrow. "Dogs are not our whole life," Roger Caras writes in Dog People, "but they make our lives whole."

Invest whene. In this sense — so one could almost claim — it is the dog that makes us human. Lassie used to come home every week, often having rescued Mom or Tirany from some scrape on the way. Now our welcome mats diplay two-dimensional collies -- or labradors, or Afghans ("available in 15 breeds") — and working dog owners call home to speak

West Germany, 77; Sir Roy

Shaw, writer and critic, 78: Brian Walden, broadcaster,

lost, unwanted, abandoned.

former Labour MP, 64.

insurance, day care, pre-school, homelessness, depres-New Yorker yaps and barks to their pets on the answering • ζ,

• • -

Judy Allen, children's writer, 55; Jon Bannenberg, yacht designer, 67; Dr Robert Barnes, metallurgist, 72; Sir Robin Biggam, chief execu-tive, BICC, 58; Prof Martin Carver, archeologist, 55; Dame Mary Corsar, chair-man, WRVS, 69; Prof Lord Dervaird, professor of com-× Dervaird, professor of com-pany and commercial law, Edinburgh University, 61; June Dixon-Millar, founder and director, National Centre for Cued Speech for the Deaf, 61: Leslie East, publishing director. Novello and Co, 47: Lord (Jan) Gilmour, former Grubb, a legend in prisons the prison system at Hunter Conservative minister, 70;

combe by his care, was to be cajoled into joining the local branch of the Institute for the Study of Delinguency, which Bruce Gyngell, group man-aging director, Yorkshire Tyne-Tees Television, 67; Brian Hitchen, editor, the Daily Star, 60; Dame Elaine he was chairing. His sense of what was relevant in committee was as sharp and pointedly expressed as ever. All who worked with him will remember his zest, hu-mour and gentleness. He is

clase

nya

Labour's fiscal severity may not look radical but it is realistic thanks to Tory car boot sales

Tax trap awaits whoever wins poll

sity for fiscal stringency is The problem is simple. The

Conservatives promised Brit-ain a dynamic, entrepreneurial society in which we would all be like Richard Branson; trols remained tight, but reveinstead they have created a car-boot-sale society in which nues, which were about £10 billion lower than forecast the role model is Del Boy Trotter. And in a car-boot-sale - which the Treasury be-lieves is a structural society only plonkers pay tax. enomenon. Britain is now a seriously undertaxed country. It has About half of the under-shoot reflected the fact that nominal GDP came in almost

been estimated that the selloff of nationalised industries is costing some 2 per cent of GDP a year in lost revenues, the North Sea oil companies have escaped with only the lightest of tex regimes, and the growth of self-employ-ment has eroded the tax base by encouraging a discount-

for-cash zeitgeist. In normal circumstances. the solution to this problem would be equally simple. The Government would tighten fiscal policy through higher texation or lower spending. But, of course, these are not normal times: this is an elec-

Brothers have come up with six factors which may have ground has revenues. First, the tion year when the needs of the economy run into the exi-gencies of political survival. 1994 crash in the bond markets hit the profits of the financial sector, where tax payments These are the facts. In the rose by just 6 per cent in 1995

1994 Budget, the Chancellor | following an 80 per cent leap in ; predicted that the PSBR for 1995-1996 would be £21.5 billion. It turned cut to 1994. Had they matched the 40 per cent rise in corporation tax from industrial companies, be £32.2 billion. The problem CT would have been £1.5 bilwas not spending, where conlion higher.

Second, the proliferation of tax-free savings schemes may be costing about £1 billion in forgone income tax. Third, 35 per cent of the work force is self-employed, against 30 per cent in the early 1980s. Self-employed people tend to pay less tax than those on PAYE.

£13 billion lower than expected. With a tax/GDP ratio OURTH, involuntary of 40 per cant, this knocked 25 billion off receipts. But that was not the end of stock-building caused by the slowdown in the sconomy is bitting VAT, because VAT is reclaimthe story. VAT, corporation tax and income tax were lower than they should have been, even allowing for the able on stocks. Fifth, the big increase in the VAT threshold for companies from £25,400 in

undershoot in nominal GDP. The tax increases of 1993/94 1990/91 to 247,000 has encour-aged the splitting of companies pushed up the tax/GDP ratio. into smaller non-VATable but not by as much as the Government had hoped. units. Last, higher VAT rates have stimulated the growth of Economists at Salomon

the black economy. It is easy to see why the Government is having so much trouble achieving its aim of balancing the budget over the medium term. In-deed, this now looks like an unrealisable aspiration, un-

less the medium term means competence, destroyed on Black Wednesday, and that ladling out tax cuts is hardly the next 50 years. During the last full cycle — the 11 years between 1981 and 1992 — the PSBR including privatisation receipts averaged a modest 1 per cant of GDP. In the five the way to do it. But that is not to say there won't be some tax cuts in the Budget, even if the money has to be recycled from some where else. Every member of the Conservative Party exyears since (assuming a PSBR of 3.8 per cent of GDP in the current financial year), we are averaging 5.3 per cent. The logic is obvious. Fiscal

RADIN COMPAN

pects personal tax cuts in the policy needs to be tightened, and will be tightened once the Budget, and personal tax cuts there almost certainly will be. The interesting points are how Mr Clarke will deliver them and how Labour should election is over. This is no bad thing, given Britain's in-adequate supply capacity and the likelihood that any expanrespond.

Tomorrow's summer ecosion in consumer demand will trigger a sharp increase nomic forecasts will provide the first clue. Slower-than-expected growth, last year's PSBR overshoot and the revenue shortfall mean that the PSBR forecast will be jacked up from the £22.5 billion in the Budget. The City expects 227 billion-228 billion, but the Chancellor may be tampted to err on the side of caution.

This would have three ad-vantages. It would send out a warning to all those profligate public spending and a lower PSBR. Mr Clarke is also insisspending ministers about the poor state of the PSBR, it would help keep monstary tent that his priority is to policy loose by reassuring the restore the Conservative Par-

ty's reputation for economic | City that there will be no tax giveaway and it will increase the chances of a pleasant surprise come Budget day.

OWEVER.

FINANCE AND ECONOMICS 11

these chances should not be exaggerated. On the revenue side, things have started to look a little rosier in recent months, helped by the pick-up in con-sumer spending. If this con-tinued, the Chancellor might be able to stand up on Budget day and claim, straight-faced, that the hole in the public fiscorched-earth strategy, the need to tighten flacal policy nances was closing as mysicwill remain.

The real issue is not whether this will happen but riously as it opened up. But, frankly, it would stretch how. Labour's ideal policy mix should be a loose mone-Public spending looks less promising — par for the course in a pre-election year. tary and a tight fiscal stance, but that does not mean the Net departmental outlays are tax-and-spend choices have to be the same as they are now. forecast to rise by 1.5 per cent, but in the first two months of Mr Brown could and should the year they were up by 5.4 per cent on the same

cut the flacal cake in a completely different way to Mr Clarke, taxing the rich more heavily to benefit the poor. If he does not make the right political choices in office, he will deserve censure. But these are political choices: they need to be made after the election, not now.

in import penetration and a concomitant deterioration in the balance of payments. The austerity of the past few years, although unpopular, has been good for the econo-my but me need more of it my, but we need more of it. The Chancellor is well aware of these home truths He knows he cannot afford to do what Nigel Lawson did in 1987 and offer a triple whammy of tax cuts, higher

reserve is already sermarked for BSE compensation. The Chancellor's lamentstions about the PSBR are not

onthe of 1994-1995. The possi-

bility of further slippage this year is high, particularly given

that £1 billion of the £2.5 billion

credulity.

just hype. He may be able to cut taxes modestly, but only if revenues are buoyant and spending ministers show restraint. Even then, there would almost certainly have

to be some jiggery-pokery to depress the spending totals for the arithmetic to stack up. Mr Clarke is coming on like another Chancellor of yesteryear: Roy Jenkins in 1970. But even if he resists the pressure from Brian Mawhinney and Michael Heseltine for a

wny F-words nave lost their meaning

OME people hate the phrase "fiel good fac-tor". It has become overworked and, argiably, meaningless. Espe-cally now that the two F-words have become seemingly glued to a third

Larry Elliott

HEN it comes to

fiscal policy, there is nothing

remotely new about New

about Labour, Gordon Brown is

Stafford Cripps half a century

on, threatening to be an ava-tar of austerity even before he moves into the Treasury. In fact, he promises to out-Cripps Cripps, because the Attlee government funded in-

creased NHS spending with-

out compensatory cuts else-

where " For this, Mr Brown de-serves preise, not criticism. There are many aspects of

that are preternaturally cantious and are, to say the least,

questionable, but the neces-

Labour's

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economic strategy

word, spawning the new term. "elusive feel-good factor". The feel-good factor may have become a cliché, but all clichés were once original, relevant and smart.

The meaning has been buried beneath the recent deluge of good news. Football came home (it got to the gar-den gate, at any rate). Tennis finally produced a success who was not only British but, better still, cute in a Hugh

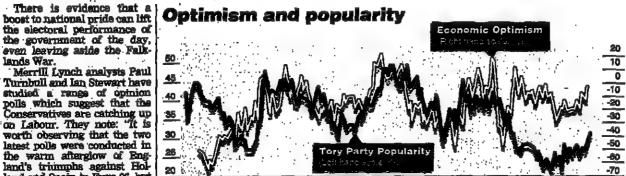
Grant sort of way. Even Chancellor Kenneth Clarke suspended his insis-tence on sticking to the performance of the economy formance of the economy when discussing the elec-tions, "This country needs a boost, and to win Euro 96 would be good news. I hope it helps the feel-good factor," he said on June 14, the day be-fore England beat Scotland. Since the feel-good factor has Since the feel-good factor has become part of the lexicon of political commentators when discussing Tory fortunes, he might as well have said: "I hope a win for the lads will push us up the polls a tad."

the electoral performance of the government of the day, even leaving aside the Falk-lands War. Merrill Lynch analysis Paul Turnbull and Ian Stewart have

studied a range of opinion polls which suggest that the Conservatives are catching up on Labour. They note: "It is worth observing that the two latest polls were conducted in the warm afterglow of Eng land's triumphs against Hol-land and Spain in Euro 96, but before England lost on penal-

ties to Germany." A MORI poll published on June 27 showed that the Conservatives' rating was 38 per cent after the win against Spain, up from 29 per cent the previous Friday and Saturday. The original basis for the feel-good factor was not, however, sporting prowess but a combination of economic fac-tors which affected people's perception of their well-being. Once the football and tennis gloss has been chipped off, gioss has been chipped off, and the Scots get used to hav-ing back their Stone of Scone, will there be enough strength in the economy to bolster the

Conservatives at the polls? House prices, mortgage bor-rowing, car sales and real incomes have all shown good



83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 79

BRIEFING/As someone once said, anything can happen on the day. SARAH RYLE reports

progress. "Even before foot sumer confidence polls and 1995, weakness in the housing ball fever gripped the media. the Conservative leads and market and a growing percep-there were fairly clear signs lags against Labour do show a tion of job insecurity to the that consumer confidence was starting to pick up. De-

correlation. Or they did until 1992 and Black Wednesday, when ster-ling fell out of the exchange feat at the hands of Germany in Euro 96 probably makes little difference to the buoyant rate mechanism and the puboutlook for consumer confi dence over the next few months," say Messrs Stewart and Turnbull. lic began to doubt the Govern ment's ability to manage the economy. Since then, the relationship between consumer confidence and voting intentions has broken down. Their tracking of consumer

spending and real disposable income over the past 16 years, the MORI and Gallup con-Messra Turnbull and Stew-art add tax increases in 1992-

list of reasons behind the

breakdown. David Owen, an analyst at Kleinwort Benson, has also cast doubt in his latest report on the "naive assumption" that "consumer confidence holds the key for government popularity". Although he shows that, in

Although he shows that, in regardless of the polls. Any-each of the last four elections, thing, as somebody once said economic optimism peaked at or just after polling day, Mr on the day.

the relationship has broken down since 1932 (see graph). He argued that the Conserva-WORM'S EYE/ tives can "no longer rely on increased consumer confi-Climate of fear dence; or lower base rates to

engineer re-election". He said a MORI poll found a net balance of 8 per cent of voters expecting the economy to worsen in the coming 13 months, which was less than the average net balance of 15 per cent since 1979. But, judging by the 1979-92 experi-ence, this negative level of consumer confidence should mean a better opinion poll showing for the Conservatives than they are achieving.

So a government that pre-sided over recession in 1990-Jimmy Goldsmith helped to 91 but was viewed as the best bet for the economy in March 1992 may not enjoy the same escape this time around, according to Mr Owen.

Although odds have recently moved in the Tories' favour on the City bookmak-ers' IG Index, Mr Owen said a slim Labour majority was still in the offing. But few ana-lysts will discount the possi-bility of a sudden change in the run-up to an election,

states collapse, the only people still in work are the stress counsellors. Gory or what?

Reasons not to Owen backed the view that invest in futures

> tence, ushering in a new 10th century, with plagnes and outlaws but without the plainsong chanting or flluminated manuscripts.

is forecast by DAN ATKINSON The Hyperinflationary Volcano: Huge in the 1970s and due for a comeback. The world's financial system OR those who found that Environment Sec-retary John Gummer's breaks down and basic commodities — wheat, oil, coal — start to run out. Civil order disintegrates as purchasing power falls to nil. People flee the cities doom-laden greenhouse-ef-fect predictions last week lacked a certain something. here is your cut out and keep guide to Apocalypse Soon(ish). The Freetrade Firestorm: and set up communes deep in the countryside (see The Four-Gated City by Doris Lessing). Things fall apart,

the centre etc, etc The Great Depression: Not to be confused with the en-tirely respectable school of thought that holds the name it. Here's the sce-1990s to be the new 1930s, nario: one billion (or two billion, or four billion) lowthis is the scenario of choice for all those itching to see payback time for the permissive society, ITV, the paid Third World types, hitherto kept off the open market by trade barriers pill, overpaid footballers, and meanie Marxist gov-ernments, swamp all the £100 training shoes and the abolition of corporal punishment. The "fool's pare-dise" of the prosperous conavailable employment op-portunities and everybody sumer society is blown away like froth from a pint in Europe and America starves to death. Welfare of beer. The Total Market Failure.

One event — usually the much-awaited Tokyo earth-

The New Dark Ages. This is quake - tips the over-The New Dork Age. This is the super-Gothic version of the old long-wave theory. Five hundred years of west-ern progress culminated in full employment, social deactive, over-engineered financial system into complete meltdown. Every-body sells everything, computer-driven trading pro-grams add fuel to the mocracy and technological advance. But all good lames, stripey-shirts hurl things come to an en and themselves from skyscrap-

so a new alliance of drug barons, multinational busi-More of the Same: Steadily increasing consumer pros-perity. Too awful to con-template. ness cartels and ruthless speculators are squeezing the nation-state out of exis-

,	Indicators	an waa aa a
f	TODAY - UK: Industrial produc- tion (May).	GER: Current account (Apr). GER: Trade balance (Apr).
מ	UK: Manufacturing (May).	WEDNESDAY - GER CPI (Ju
n	UK: Producer Prices (May). US: Consumer credil (May).	final).
-	US: Consumer credil (May).	THURSDAY - UK: Retail or in

TOBORROW - UK: Cyclical indi-GER Bundesbank Council mee FRIDAY - UK: CBI survey of d ators of the LIK economy (May). UKs Construction: New orders fenul.) zebart evitudini US: Retail Sales (June),

Source, NetWeel Securit

US; Wholesale Trade (May) Tourist rates — bank sells

ьł	Australia 1.9175	France 7.76	raly 2,337	Singapore 2.15
	Austria 16.22	Germany 2.3075	Maita 0.5490	South Africa 6,55
r	Belgium 47,42	Greece 365.00	Netherlands 2,5900	Spain 193.75
	Cenada 2.0650	Hong Kong 11.75	New Zealand 2,2080	Sweden 10.1975
,	Cyprus 0.7075	India 54.74	Norway 9,88	Switzerland 1,8925
F	Denmark 8.9150	freland 0.9450	Portugal 237.75	Turkey 123,508
2	Finland 7.19	Israél 4,98	Saudi Arabia 5.80	USA 1.6200
	Supplied by Harlivest Ba	ot (aucluding indexn ruped	and israeli shekeli at al close	of business on Friday

Worship at free-market altar doesn't work

DEBATE/Command industrial policy has proved successful in Taiwan, argues ROBERT WADE

5.5,79⁻⁷

And the South of the

States generally focus on the trade-off between market driven efficiency and beg on the streets. Yet 30 social goals secured by state years ago, Taiwan was indeed intervention. The issue for both the left and the right is how much of one should be worked for subsistence given up for the other. Many returns in agriculture or Tories invoke East Asia as proof that free markets, low taxation and minimal stateprovided welfare work best, for us and them.

Asia's economic success. Asia's economic success. Take Talwan, one of the this is not to say that the state has not been active. Rather, it lesser-known cases. Taiwanese firms are now taking out patients in the US at about the same rate per million of the population as middle-ranking ain and France, giving the lie to the claim that the East Asians are good imitators but The state in Taiwan (and in

EBATES about eco-nomic policy in Brit-an and the United ing in the US is much faster, too. Overall economic growth remains high: no one has to to farm workers in the early sweat shops. How has Taiwan become so

tural markets and invested heavily in rural infrastrucrich? Certainly the state has intervened little to provide ture and industrialisation. It then turned its attention to developing larger-scale inwelfare. Total taxes relative There is no doubting East to GDP have been much lower dustries. Over time, it created than in OECD countries, but a set of organisations within the state for formulating and carrying through a long-term industrial development strathas focused on enhancing efficiency and on industrial and agricultural transformation. egy. Studies of elasticity of demand, technical change, It has used industrial policy and the composition of imin a way that most British

veloped next,

South Korea and Japan) has moting agro-processing and plans, for example, resulting tion prevention and provid-sought to create a "virtuous light consumer goods. In the in higher levels of investment ing industry with subsidised circle" between state inter-1960s it meant promoting at little public cost. circle" between state inter-ventions and markets. On one hand, state action helps guide market exchanges in inter with a longer-term national interest beyond the concern of decentralised en-trepreneurs. On the other, the incentives, rivalry and feed-have seen the same industrial

back of these markets help policy apparatus pushing technology and skill-inten-sive industries - and, inkeep state action effective. In Taiwan, the government creasingly, low-pollution gen-erating industries. saw through a reform pro-gramme which returned land

HE government has a 1950s. It reorganised agriculwide array of measures to foster targeted activ-ities. They include fis-

cal incentives and conces-sional credit through the nationalised banking system; measures to help expand do-mestic demand for the targeted products; and quasi-public

agencies providing technical and marketing assistance. Many of the measures do not involve much public money — government offi-cials can help bring interdeports helped to identify those industries that should be de-

inst, to environmental clean-up. Taiwan, like South Korea, shows a stark contrast be-tween economic progress and environmental deterioration. The strategy has been to get down the hierarchy of

icy, encouraging firms to

less damaging activities. To achieve this it is using the same methods it earlier used to promote the development of specific industries.

First, it is following an imindustries that should be decisies can help bring interde-veloped next. In the 1950s this meant pro-to coordinate investment financing research into pollu-University of Sussex.

ing industries", including semiconductors, precision Machinery and aerospace. As Britain slips steadily

rich first and clean up later. nations, domestic policy make The government has begun to ers should pay close attention factor environmental consid-to the use of public power in erations into industrial pol- East Asia East Asia's experiadopt less environmentally Britain is wrongly defined: damaging behaviour and not market-driven efficiency shifting the sectoral composi-tion of the economy towards but how the state can assist markets to be more efficient port substitution strategy for creating an indigenous envi-ernment concerned primarily industry. Second, it is subst-than with industrial policy. dising industry purchases of Professor Robert Wade works

ing industry with subsidised technical assistance. And In the 1990s the thrust of alongside this strategy, it is In the 1950s the thrust of Taiwan's industrial policy ap-paratus has been directed, at last, to environmental clean-value products in 10 "emarg-value products in 10 "emarg-

ence shows that the issue in ER: Unemployment (June). Britain is wrongly defined: egalitatian and sustainable. The focus on freeing-up mar-kets and cutting back on the welfare state will only perpetuate the gradual decline. But

12 SPORT/RACING Halling's turn to dish dirt

Return to turf leads to Eclipse double. Graham Rock reports

ALLING showed identical qualities of speed and courage to last year in the Coral-Eclipse at Sandown on Saturday, running on bravely to defeat Bijou d'Inde by a neck. The Godolphin champion is

unbeaten on turf since recording his first success in a mod-est handicap at Ripon in August 1994. Not surprisingly, Simon Crisford, Godol-

phin's racing manager, said afterwards that the winner would not be asked to race on dirt or sand again. Halling's two defeats in the past two years came in the Breeders' Cup Classic at Belmont last Autumn and in the world's richest race, the Dubai World Cup, when he finished a street behind the fourth-placed Pentire, who

ran third on Saturday. Both Walter Swinburn, who won the Eclipse on him last year, and Saturday's success-ful jockey, John Reid, ex-pressed admiration for Hallpressed admir-ing's attitude.

All horses want to run, but few show the exuberance and courage that Halling demoncourage that Halling demon-strated in becoming the fourth horse this century to win the Eclipse in consect-tive years. The Juddmonte In-ternational, Irish Champion Stakes and Dubai Champion Stakes will probably complete Halling's season. Halling's season.

Mark Johnston is revising plans for Bijou d'Inde. His original intention was to rest the St James's Palace Stakes winner until the Queen Eliza-beth II Stakes at Ascot in late September and then run in

ing Good to Gres, + Denotes idiniters. Drawt Low suppliers fav-ures in brackets ofter invite's name denote days sizes integt o

stays a mile and a quarter. Bijou d'Inde is likely to renew rivalry with Halling at York. The Breeders' Cup Mile remains likely and Johnston

is already thinking that the Dubai World Cup next spring might be a realistic target. "He was a bit unlucky, rac ing through a wet patch and then challenging when the winner was taking him across the track." Johnston said yes-terday. "It's very difficult to pass a horse under those cir-

pass a horse under those cir-cumstances and if we'd been able to challenge the other side he might have won. "The winner found some-thing when we moved up to challenge, though, so you can't take it away from him. Some people have said we were lucky at Ascot. I think luck was against us on Satur-day, but he can a great race." day, but he ran a great race." Pentire moved up to threaten Halling with two furlongs remaining, but never reached the leader and stayed

fast ground, but his jockey, Michael Hills, said he thought Pentire ran as though he needed the outing. Geoff Wragg's stable star will have every opportunity to redeem

later this month. There were 15 sprinters declared for the July Cup at Newmarket on Thursday and all the major bookmaking firms have installed Pivotal a short-priced favourite, with Ladbrokes's 7-4 the best odds available

be at least as effective at six furiongs as he was over the minimum distance at Ascot, the Breeders' Cup Mile. But | and it is no surprise that this | since racing over five fur-now he is certain his colt | lightly-raced three-year-old | longs this season, having won

Bath runners and riders with form guide

3.30 Ltin

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ORAL

on at one pace to finish third, two lengths behind the win-ner, but five lengths clear of Definite Article in fourth. His best form has been on his reputation in the King George VI and Queen Eliza-beth Diamond Stakes at Ascot Neck and neck . . . John Reid and Halling (right) get the better of Bijou d'Inde and Jason Weaver in Saturday's Coral-Eclipse

Sir Mark Prescott's King's Stand Stakes winner should

heads the ante-post market. | all his four races by a total of Thursday's sprint, was sent to first French juvenile pattern | came in France yesterday Derby over a mile and a half Ladbrokes's 9-2 is the best 17 lengths. He will not be eas-price about the second ily brushed aside. | at the two-furlong marker, day's Group Three Priz du Chief Contender, who had fin-the first eight furlongs, the Joe Naughton declared Hever Golf Rose on target for the July Cup after she failed by half a length to give 10lb to Waky Nao in Saturday's Group Three Holsten Trophy in Fambure favourite, Anabaa. Trained by Criquette Head at Chantilly, Anabaa is closely related to the top-class 10-fur-long colt Key Of Luck. He was successful over a mile last year, but has im-proved out of all recognition in Hamburg. Relishing the heavy ground, Hever Golf Rose, who is generally quoted at 12-1 for

3/80-45 SOPHISM (9) M Pgs 7-7-10 3-36564 PEDALTOTHEMETAL (83) P Mitchell 4-7-10 40000-0 MITE THE BLELET (38) A Chemberlan 5-7-

Bettings 9-4 Sophism, 7-2 Speciel Best, 4-1 Dooble Dash, 5-1 Pedatischemetal, 7-1 Cyprese Avenue, 8-1 Privilers Quait 20-1 Bile The Bullet. 7 remover. 7 remover.

TOP FORM TIPE: Double Dash 8. Sobies 7

but could not withstand the persistent challenge of the winner. Geoff Lewis's Passion For Life made the running to half-way under Paul Eddery, but dropped away quickly in the closing stages to finish last but one of the 12 runners. Michael Jarvis won the

7.00 North Artis

7.15 Hok Sarpris 7.50 One Pound

Ripon tonight

pin on July 27. Further British success

CORAL

Chief Contender, who had fin-ished ninth to Shaamit in the Derby on his previous start, scored a length-and-a-balf vic-Bois at Longchamp - with Deep Finesse. Philip Robinson made all the running on Deep Finesse, who may go for the Weatherbys Super Sprint in two weeks' time, although he could instead go back to France for the Prix Robert Pa-

Nantes.

day's Group One Deutsches

PHOTOGRAPH: GEORGE SELWY!

son of Generous was unable to go with the pace and gradually weakened. The race was won by the

Germano, partnered by Michael Hills, finished a disappointing last of 18 in yesteras the winner.

tory over Faucon Royal in the Listed Derby de l'Ouest at

The Guardian Monday July \$ 1994

Winds	or tonight
8.40 Labudd 7.10 Paarires House	8.05 Barrisch Yand 8.35 TIMES OF TIMES (non)
7.35 Hayanis	S-05 Guatelonia
Solar Cord. + Departer	Ministern, Drown High matchers (progred over 11)

home-trained favourite Lavirco, trained by Peter Rau and ridden by Torsten Mundry, Suraco, the runnerup, carried the same colours

Athe

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Mike Selver

39**d V**

Goingt Good. + Danotas bilakara. Jinnet Leve camhara haat ower 27 A SKY Tin 7.00, 7.00 & 6.00. Piperus in Jacobete after increts an une desette daga place in 7.00 FERRERATE SELLING STAKES 1m of CO.707

8.20 Indian Rel

9.20 Lucky Sea

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		5 DIGGO DEADO ST (10) N Lister 4-8-1	TOP FORM TIPE Queentivative 6, North Ander 7, Willy Star 8	116 UD400 FASTINI GOLD (14) IS UNIT 4-5-7 June 1
	Battings 4–1 Durhum, 9-2 Sopermick, 6–1 Branze Runner, Brystil, 7–1 Beyond Our Pasch, 12–1 Coodbi Brick Court, 14–1 La Bebe Skyamia, Dots Dee 18 runner	10 26000 - GRAND THE (350) (0) A Baker 7-7-10		118 32100-6 COURSE FRAMER (12) (D) 5 MCMADON 5-0-2
			Because and Ander, The Guestomeron, 5-1 Willy Star, 5-1 Adducts, Unimons Crown, 12-1 Portan Harsh Times, Labedinau, 16-1 Vechca Lady, Gallerdini	120 22-0105 DUTY SERVEANT (8) P Michael 7-7-3) 121 60-2431 RUBIC SYMBOL (14) (0) M Bianshard 8-7-13
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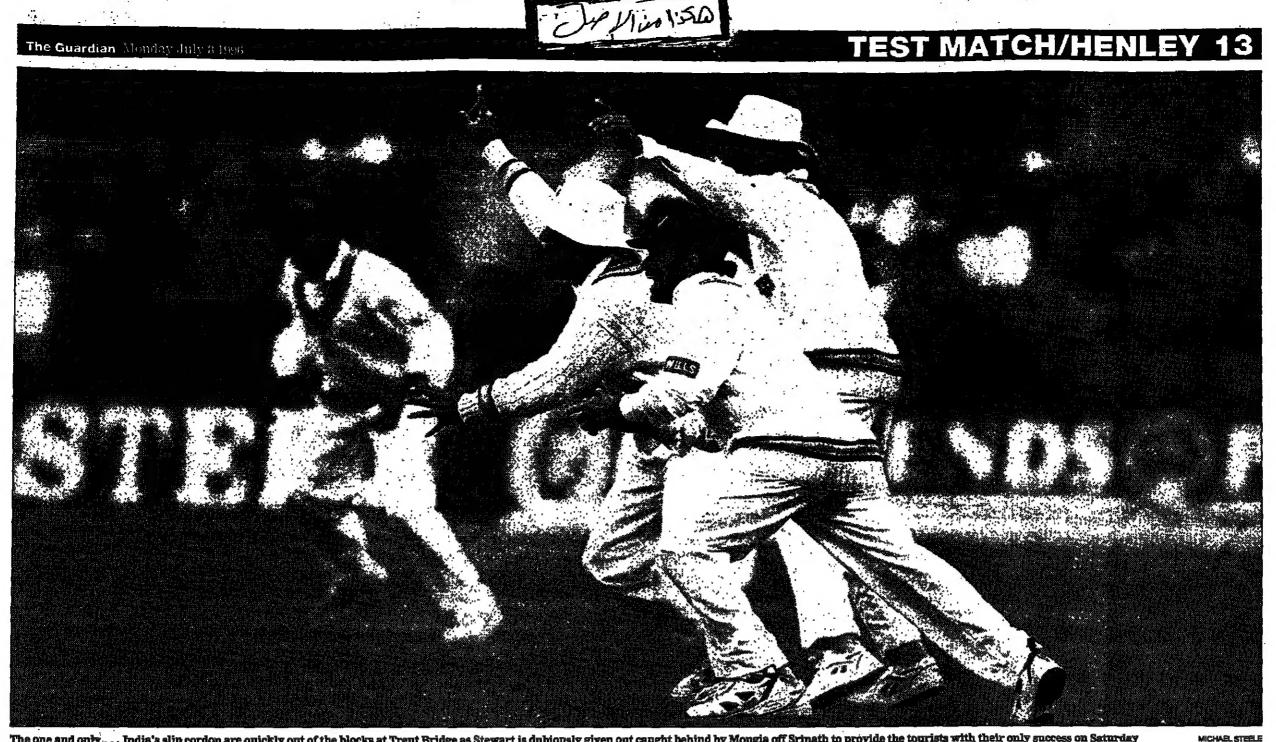
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Christopher Dods at He

The and dealed in the crew deprived College of 4.1 her they we Challence Cun a an first send a ce itears ago, Herica with their dest Grand when in a start with their start with their the



The one and only ... India's slip cordon are quickly out of the blocks at Trent Bridge as Stewart is dubiously given out caught behind by Mongia off Srinath to provide the tourists with their only success on Saturday

England v India: third Test, third day

Atherton in charge as Hussain waits

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Mike Selvey on a digital time-bomb at Trent Bridge

> T THE highest level sport is about seizing the moment and or not riding — your luck. Michael Atherton and Nasser Hussain would be among the

> > ment. After

Atherton, circumstances pushing him to a low mental ebb, edged a ball from Javagal Srinath to the left hand of Rahul Dravid at third slip. Once more the chance went beg-ging. Atherton had not opened his account either and by Saturday evening he, too, had made his opponents pay dearly for the lapse. He dragged himself wearily from the field with 145, his 10th

Test century, after an entire

David Hopps on why the skipper

needs a short break

HE talk in the Corn-hill hospitality tent on Friday evening had been of why Michael Atherton should take some time off. How weary he must be, how run

just the fillip he needs be-fore the Australians arrive in England next summer. Atherton undoubtedly feels the same way. Even the most popular or out of trouble

respected captain does not like to be divorced from his team for too long, recognis

ing the natural and subtle shifts that will invariably occur in a dressing-room in his absence

Atherton, though, is

year-old like his partner, was last out, bowled by Capel as **David Foot at Northampton** he went for his third six.

After that sequence of early failures — a slip catch in the HE manager, captain and the rest of the Paki-

an unbeaten partnership on Saturday England's second-wicket pair could be parted this morning, not directly by the Indian attack but by a hairline crack in Hussain's

first to not agr

Tight index-finger. The Esser bataman, who has made such a fist of filling the important No. 3 role, faces an early-morning net at Trent Bridge when a decision will be made on his fitness to con-tinue. He was struck on the glove late on Saturday afternoon and yesterday a precau-tionary X-ray revealed the damage to his digit.

Such fleeting happenings can alter the course of destiny, Take last Thursday morning, shortly after India had lost their second wicket, when Sachin Tendulkar slapped a square-cut hard but straight at Atherton in the gully. The England captain has made himself a capable fielder in this position but, perhaps unsighted momen-tarily by the background on a gloomy day, his timing was out and the chance was grassed. It was Tendulkar's sixth ball and be had yet to score. He did not offer a second chance for 7% hours, until he had made 177.

until he had made 177. On Friday evening, after the best part of two days in the field concentrating, wor-rying, cajoling and plotting.



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INDIA: First Innings S11 (5 R Tendulkar 177, S Ganguly 136, R 8 Dravid 54, 8 V Manirelast S31. ENGLAND

Find Innings

Total (lor 1, 102 overs) .

To bat G P Thorps, G A Hick, C C Lewis, To bat: G P Thorps, G A Hick, C C Lewis, TR C Russell, D G Cork, M A Eatham; M M Gard A P Multi-Patel, A D Mullarity Rewlines Strinth 27-7-52-1: Presed 24-6-78-0: Kumble 18-3-62-0: Reju 22-4-55-0: Ganguly 8-0-34-0: Tendular

C-19-0. Frees G Sharp and K T Francis.

av at the cr With Hussain he has added 192 for the second wicket. Technically a different animal from the open-faced creature of two years ago, Hus-sain completed his second hundred, of the series. It is more than a decade since an England batsman in the No. 3 position has done so. The first objective, 322 runs to avoid the follow-on, was achieved from the last ball of the day and, on a pitch that has shown no signs of wear, the potential is there for some-thing special, whether or not

Hussain plays a part. Atherton has again demon-strated his remarkable resilience. He has never been, he will say, a streak player who feels particularly in form or out of it. To a degree he is fatalistic, devoting the very best of his endeavours to the process of scoring runs but believing that either he gets them or he does not; and that, if he does not, then he will next time.

This innings was a scramble. The grin that fol-lowed the mistimed pull over the wicketkeeper's head which brought up his half century showed he knew that. But he needed the runs, not neccessarily for himself but for the team.

Atherton night have been out three times before he reached his half-century. After that early escape on Friday, he edged fractionally clear of the slips on Saturday his centuries. and then the umpire K T Francis, like Darrel Hair at Edgbaston, gave him the benefit of no doubt whatsoever when Prasad pinned him.

back on his stumps. The unpiring is beginning to be a worry. It was hoped the introduction of indepen-dent officials would mean the best in the world would be officiating. In addition to the ICC code of conduct, this has Inclaume, in anomon to the ingly are taking the easy of a solution of the ingly are taking the easy of the solution and shaking their beads, it are another the solution and shaking their beads, it are as if determined to carry on it from the game but there is the spirit of Bird. So far this evidence that the scrutiny summer Atherton twice, Ten-



duikar, certainly once and under which the modern Test umpire finds himself is hav-ing an adverse effect. Direct perhaps twice, and Stewart have got away with murder. Overcaution, while creattelevision replays and the new giant screens are strip-ping them bare in front of the ing less controversy, still amounts to incompetence but there is a further factor now crowd and the players. Mis-takes will always be made both ways, with Alec Stewart the latest to be sent on his in the shape of the giant screen. On Thursday, when Francis answered Cork's way by an apparently bad de-cision, while the Indians thought Hussain had been theatricals with a negative and Tendulkar survived, the replay was followed by bar racking from the crowd caught behind during both Allowing for the fact that the unpire is in the best position But lbw decisions are causto adjudicate, this cannot be ing the greatest controversy. In the past — and currently at lower levels — bowlers are tolerated.

However, no one forces umgaining verdicts that defy simple geometry. At Test pires into the job and, as people who can have a direct level, however, while the fininfluence on playing careers. the poor ones need exposing and rooting out. The players deserve that. But unpires, too, need all the help they can dubious one against Anil Kumble - umpires increas-ingly are taking the easy opget. Replays, used properly, have a part to play in the modern game but the giant screen used mithinkingly is doing them no favours.

D. WYD face around the door for a few seconds (hoping to rebuke a sympathetic jour-nalist whom he felt had wronged him), it was a surprise that he was not help-fully loaded down with travel brochures. If Atherton had not been dreaming of Faraway Places, he had begun to resemble the man with Far-

away Eyes. A batsman short of form and long on respon-sibility, the strains of the England captaincy looked as if they were beginning to tell again. Had the beer pumps whirred a little longer, his health might have been unfavourably compared with that of Boris Yellsin. Trust Atherton to sum

mon up an innings of defiance, an immediate retort to the chattering glasses. His gruelling innings, sever hours and counting, was far from the finest of his 10 England centuries but it

willpower.

certainly ranked among the most unyielding. By the end of Saturday he was batting quite well, no longer cramponed to the crease while the Indian gale blew itself out, but ambling along a country lane in reasonably good humour. Paradoxically, though, it was his most unconvincing moments that were also his most impressive; he pro-tected England's 1-0 lead in

the series through sheer The easiest response to such a formidable show of temperament is to laud Ath-erton's survival instincts, note that he fully deserved yesterday's rest day and let business continue as usual. perhaps, to becoming vice Pakistan will provide chal-lenging opposition in the second half of the summer captain.

but tours to Zimbabwe and New Zealand this winter offer him the rare opportu-nity of leading a victorious England side overseas -would be a reward.

still seems irreplaceable. to the balcony ready to ac-claim the hundred of the un-Assuming all goes roughly according to plan, he will beat Peter May's record of capped Shadab Kabir, a 19-year-old left-hander whose 41 Tests as England captain innings brought a luxurious in next summer's Ashes texture to the day and orchesseries. Only then, at the reltrated, with surprising matuatively young age of 29, will he dare consider his future. rity, a solid recovery by the

Tour match

Northamptonshire v Pakistanis

Kabir belies age

to keep tourists

It would be a proud mo And as one, their faces were ment but only in the context drained of expectation for an of a country that has chopped and changed its England captains to a ridioemerging star as David Capel. with the new ball, had Kabir sparring uneasily to give a catch at the wicket on 99. ulous degree. For continu-ity, try Allan Border's re-He had made few mistakes cord of 93 Tests as captain of Australia, or Clive as he hit two sizes and 11 fours off 193 balls. The Pakidid not dilute his praise in any way because of the disap-Lloyd's 74 for West Indies. Examine Saturday's innings and you see a bats-

man successfully striving to conquer his mental exhauspointment. "Here is a player of immense promise. I'm de-lighted not just that he scored tion. Runs in a Test match ars worth more to a bats-man's self-regard than a so many runs but in the man-ner he got them when we were in trouble. He'll surely hundred hours in the nets. Look deeper and you have to ask how often he should be featuring in the long-term future of Pakistan cricket."

be expected to do it? Profes-sionalism, in part, might Kabir is small and slender. But the stature is a delusion. He drives with the zest, if not well be the art of producing yet perhaps the panache, of a Lara; he strokes through the a good performance when you least feel like it, as Eng-land's coach David Lloyd is covers before running fours with innocent joy; he hates fond of reminding us. But Atherton also deserves to recall the simpler pleasures, when there is noth-ing in the world you would rather be doing than bat-

ting well. Zimbabwe, frankly, is a and power through the off. Pakistan lost five wickets tour Atherion can easily miss. The Test and County for 52 at one stage and, after their prolific scoring in previ-ous matches, now seemed des-Cricket Board should tell him now, while confirming him as captain for the tour of New Zealand. There is no tined to end up with a smaller first-innings total than Northamptonshire's threadbare could not become the ex-perimental leader of an ex-152. But Saqlain Mushtaq, better known as an off-spinner. came in to join Kabir and end perimental side, a route,

The TCCB should pay Atherton not to go within 100 miles of a cricket ground, a cricket conversation or a cricket broadcast for three months. Now that

second - Pakistan did well to reach 323. Four of the wickets went to Capel, two of the others to Boswell, on his county debut. That left 20 overs, and the reinstated Fordham and Montgomerie scored 71 without loss.

Chris Adams celebrated his debut as Derbyshire skipper in style, becoming the fourth batsman to reach 1,000 first-class runs this season with a quickfire 66 against the South African A team at Chesterfield.

But while he pressed hard on the accelerator, the howlers kept the handbrake firmly on. South Africa A bowled their overs at an average of 12.1 an hour during Derbyshire's first innings of 316 for five declared.

The tourists showed greater urgency with the bat; the opener Gerhardus Liebenberg reached the close unbeaten on 79 in a second innings of 128 for no wicket — a lead of 134. The Sunday League hopes of Warwickshire, champions and runners-up in the last two campaigns, were dealt a blow by the announcement that their captain Dermot wasting balls, so stretches a long way to reach and then cut to the boundary. He late-tots in the old-fashioned tra-dition, drives with balance the stretches a cut to the boundary. He late-dition, drives with balance

run win against Nottinghamshire at Edgbaston.

Shaun Pollock took two for 21 as Notts were restricted to 179 for six in reply to the home side's 197 for four.

Trevor Penney and the wicketkeeper Michael Burns had saved Warwickshire's innings, putting on 90 for the sixth wicket.

Warwickshire were only in difficulties during Notts's the unsightly disorder. This the pair did with some style, even if against modest third-wicket stand of 62 in 10 county bowling. They put on 171, a record against North-amptonshire for the eighth overs by Tim Robinson (52) and Paul Johnson (43). When amptonshire for the eighth wicket It had stood since 1925 when Harold Larwood and and Pollock, Notts needed an Will Payton scored 151 at improbable 54 from five Trent Bridge. Saglain, a 19- overs.

Athletics

Kiptanui goes for steeplechase record in star-studded meeting

WORLD-RECORD attempts | icks on Fiday, will be tested in the men's 5,000 metres | by Trinidad's Ato Boldon. and 3,000m steeplechase will

be the highlights of today's

Grand Prix in Stockholm The Kenyan world cham-pion Moses Kiptanui will aim to lower the steeplechase mark of 7min 59.18sec he set last year in Zurich and three of the four athletes who ran under 18min in Rome on June 5 will go in the 5,000m. Salah Hisson of Morocco won then in 12:50.80.

Michael Johnson, beaten over 200m by Frankie Freder-



Christopher Dodd at Henley Argo in the regatta's fastest time. This was a much better TALE's undefeated freshman crew deprived Im-perial College of a hat-trick when they won the Temple Challenge Cup yester day. It was a double celebraresult than some of these oarsmen achieved in the film of the 1987 Oxford mutiny, True Blue, in which they do the rowing while actors do The Swiss Olympic spare led tion for the American univerthe arguing. The Queen's Tower four sity, which first sent a crew to

Henley 100 years ago. But this Henley belonged to But this Henley belonged to Imperial, with their first win in the Grand where, in a com-bined crew with their old bined crew with their old bined crew with their last a length, with Mölesey's bow by Squeen's Tower; they had boys Queen's Tower; they had

dict of "easily" in the Princess Elizabeth was a humiliating defeat for St Edward's. Delft, who learned his scull-Brentwood's time of 6.25 was ing in Tasmania, took the Dionly three seconds outside the record, putting the at first but Vervoord inched

up and went ahead after balf-

Imperial's full measure unhinged by Yale Little difficulty in beating the boat at the end. He struggled with ease against Caroline 3% lengths at the finish. Four beaten half a length by Argo of the Blues then contested from Holland in the Visitors' Brentwood of Canada's verthe premier fours final, the

Stewards', against Notts County and London, who also formed half of a Ladies' Plate

eight. Andy Butt dropped out of labour, and he was a proud father of Jack Samuel by the

and Chris Bates stroking Isis's only finalists were and Jurg Habermayr.

•

after leading all the way. Two of the Dutchmen also rowed in the defeated Grand crew.

Wallingford, who disposed of Essen, the German student both Notis crews on Friday could not hold Nephune, the when his wife went into Irish champions, in the

time the substitute Bill Baker helped beat the Blues with Ian Watson, John Williamson Double Sculls against the

Swiss pair Gunter Schneider

champions, in the semi-finals Thames Cup final. Greg Walker and Greg Lewis, who

strength of British junior rowing, as demonstrated all week, in the shade.

were completely rowed out. Merlin Vervoord, a chemical engineering student from



FRED STOLLE, Australia, 1963. lost to Chuck McKinley WILHELM (US), seeded fourth, 9-7, 6-1, 6-4. Stolle, 24, fell at the last Germany, 1967, 1 hurdle again in 1964 and 1965 but won the US title in 1968. Newcombe (Ans) (

BUNGERT, lost to John (Aus) 8-3. 6-L 6-L

), seeded second, 6-2, 6-2, who had earlier knocked 1983, lost to John McEnroe (US), s emi-final to beat Kevin Curren, w CHRIS LEWIS, New Zealand, 6-2. Lewis (aved a stunning

BORIS BECKER, Germany, 1985, beat Kevin Curren (US). the eighth seed, 6-8, 6-7, 7-6, 6-4. At 17 years and seven months he was the youngest Wimbledon's men's winner.

Graf remains first among unequals

Stephen Bierley looks beyond Sanchez Vicario to a fit Seles or older Hingis to alter the old order

ROM time to time dur-ing Saturday's final thoughts turned to There was a Wagnerian pigs. Not the fat ones that Richard Krajicek, in an appalling moment of political Not the fat ones incorrectness, once suggested were rampant in the women's game; rather, the noise these creatures make: the grunt. It is perhaps unfair both on

women's tennis and pigs to describe the cries certain players emit as grunts but English is not particularly rich in verbs or adjectives to detail the exhalation of air accompanied by sound.

So it is that Monica Seles has been dubbed a grunter, which in no way adequately defines the tone and variation of her ... whatever else you care to call them.

Thoughts of Seles were to the fore during the women's final because without her return to form the women's same is likely to continue to be dominated by Steffi Graf and Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, from a heavy cold for which

ing two break points herself. There was a Wagnerian grumble of thunder in the fourth game. Sanchez Vi-carlo, who lives in the Pyre-nees, is used to such reverberating storms; here the only lightning to strike belonged to Graf and the Spaniard's serve suffered a direct hit. The first set took 33 min

utes and, when Graf rushed to a 4-0 second-set lead, it ap-peared the final would last barely an hour. Sanchez Vicario had not played badly but Graf's power and length were pitiless. The Spaniard fretted over

two or three close line calls and waved her arms in exaggerated annoyance when a Graf forehand was called out. then overruled. However, she scarcely had time to get prop-

erly upset. When, at 3-0 down, Sanchez Vicario took a bathroom break, Graf (still suffering who have now met in six of the last 11 grand slam finals. Not that this is an entirely in towels. If the Spaniard's in-



Navratilova looks at the point of no return

MARTINA Navrati-lova took her leave on the day Court One had been due to do the same. She picked up a piece of its departing grass and departed herself with such ceremonial waves amid nostalgic cheers that it made one wonder whether this was a Wimbledon fare-

well for her too. In theory she should still have unfinished business. The 7-6, 7-6 quarter-final defeat she and Jonathan Stark suffered at the more forceful hands of Grant Connell and Lindsay Davenport not only cost them their mixed doubles title but left Navratilova tanta-lisingly one short of the re-cord 20 Wimbledon titles. Nor is she committed to

Richard Jago Wonders if the legend's exit was her last Martina Navrati-Miova took her leave on the day Court

ness which scuppered the legend. The body still looked honed, the movements supple. But absence of competition and short-age of practice almost cer-tainly bindered her — and she has no plans to increase either in the coming year. "I basically don't play

tennis at all now," she said. "I would only play Wimble-don again if I still had the desire, the health and a

good partner." She exited with a smile but left an impression that. whether she returns or not, Billie Jean King's record is likely to remain.

The span of Navratilova's triumphs had been emphaру спе **Presence** of the

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bad thing, for the contrast be-tween their styles often leads to riveting, fluctuating tennis. This was not quite the case this time; Graf's imperious forehand rarely allowed Sanchez Vicario the chance to do anything other than cling on, particularly in the first set Graf can hardly have played better on Centre Court than she did then.

Sanchez Vicario was visibly upset last month when she lost in three sets to Graf at Roland Garros, having come so close to victory. On Saturday she accepted, with-

out excuse, that Graf had sim-ply been the better player. "Steffi has never played the forehand as good. When she plays me she plays her best, and on this occasion she was so consistent — better than any other match."

The pulverising depth of Graf's forehand, particularly to Sanchez Vicario's backhand side, was the dominant theme of a final which, in true keeping with the wretchedly interrupted second week, was called off court because of rain before the players had finished knocking up. Merci-fully this was to be the last of Saturday's showers.

Graf began tentatively, Sanchez Vicario gaining two break points on the German's opening serve. But then the

was an attempt to break Graf's clamp on the match it had a delayed effect. Graf held her next serve to love and only then began to display vulnerability. An air shot on a smash led to her being broken for the first time and she lost her serve again as Sanchez Vicario lev elled at 5-5. Graf's response was imme

diate. On the first point of the next game Sanchez Vicario fell as she tried to retrieve; she rose extremely slowly and, although not hurt, promptly lost her serve to love. The shadow of her com-patriot Miguel Indurain. blowing up horribly in the Alps, fell across her. So Graf served out for her

seventh Wimbledon and 20th grand slam title. It was her 100th tournament win and 799th singles success. "I don't know how I do it. I just keep on doing it. 1 don't care."

The one person who cares rather a lot is Seles, who remains the joint No. 1. But, having lost in the quarter-fin-als of the French Open and the second round of Wimble-don, she clearly is no longer on level terms with Graf. Tennis needs a fit Seles for. until Martina Hingis gains

the strength to go with her talent, the competition at the top appears decidedly thin. The last 16 men

Steffi Graf's seventh Wimbl don crown was her 20th grand slam title and 100th tournament win - Day SMT

The last 16 women



Studenlikova (Skvak) 6-4.6-0

another try. "I only decided to play a couple of weeks before the tournament this time, so I don't know if I will be back," she said. "I don't have any hopes." There had been moments when she looked unfamil-

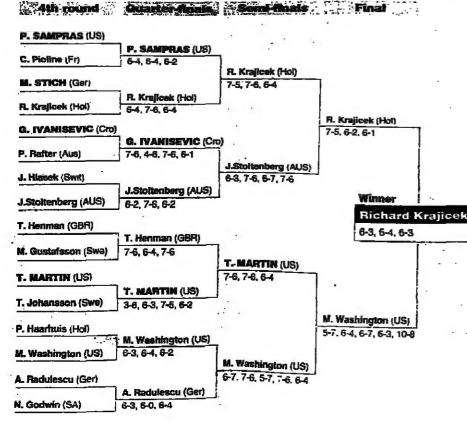
every grimace and grin. This encouraged the crowd to shrill its enjoy-

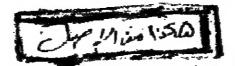
Czech-born Swiss prodigy Martina Hingis in the previous match on Court One. Bingis, named after the enduring legend, indicated her parents had made an apt choice by becoming the youngest player to reach a Wimbledon final when she iarly vulnerable, even though a champion's spirit emanated from almost their doubles 6-1, 4-6, 6-4 against Linda Wild and Liz Smylie. Hingis is four days

younger than Lottie Dod was when she won the singles in 1887 at the age of ment when somehow she contained a volleying bombardment which saved 15 years and 285 days.

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TALIS



The Guardian Monday July 8 1996 Seedless players who have earned their pips in the final

UNTIL Saturday's surprise emergence of MaliVai Washington and Richard Krajicek — crowning two weeks of unprecedented upsets — only eight unseeded players had won through to a Wimbledon men's singles final, writes David Irvine. And only one, Germany's Boris Becker in 1985, claimed the title. For some, like Becker and Rod Laver, it was the start of something not just big but enormous. For others, especially Kurt Neilsen and Fred Stolle, it offered a tantalising glimpse (and in their case re-glimpse), of the much sought-after glory which kept on eluding them — five losing finals between them. In Laver's and even Becker's case there was an inevitability about their breakthrough. But who could have foreseen the 26-year-old New Zealander Chris Lewis, ranked 91st in the world, claiming the place pencilled in for Jimmy Connors in 1983? For Germany's Wilhelm Bungert, the last amateur to confound predictions in such spectacular fashion, a final appearance in 1967 was the reward for 10 years of patient endeavour.



ROD LAVER, Australia, 1959, lost to Alex Olmedo (US), seeded one. 6–3. 6–3. 6–4. A year later, when he was 21, he reached the final again — this time as No. 3 seed — before losing to Neal Fraser. But he won in 1961 and 1962 and again, after years as a professional, in 1968 and 1969. Two of his successes formed part of Grand Slam sweeps.

MARTIN MULLIGAN, Australia, 1962, lost to Rod Laver. seeded one, 6-2, 6-2, 6-1, Mulligan, then 21 years old, never got beyond the fourth round thereafter.

Washington aced by fortune's slings and arrows

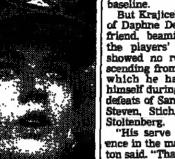
Richard Williams

sees the American take a fatalistic approach to defeat

T'S kinda like playing Ostrava." MaliVai Wash-ington said at his press conference, when invited to summarise the Wimbledon experience. 'In the Czech Republic," he added helpfully, seeing the blank looks. Washington has a deadnan

seeing the blank looks. Washington has a deadpan sense of humour. "That was just a joke," he said, before the All England Club could confiscate the silver plate he said would look nice on the marieling in his new house

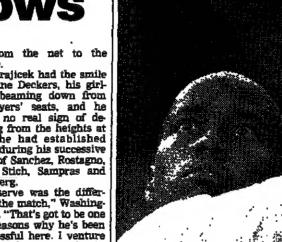
mantelpiece in his new house in Florida. "The whole experi-



"His serve was the differ-ence in the match," Washington said. "That's got to be one of the reasons why he's been so successful here. I venture to say that he was coming in averaging a good 120 [mph] on his first serves. At that kind of speed, placement doesn't

and he can do it consistently.

girlfriend Daphne Dekkers The match never looked ng the distance, not it. When a guy is doing that,



Going Dutch . . . Krajicek's matter so much. Heck, you can hit it straight at the guy and he won't be able to handle

way from the net to the baseline. But Krajicek had the smile of Daphne Deckers, his girl-friend, beaming down from the players' seats, and he showed no real sign of de-scending from the heights at which he had established himself during his successive defeats of Sanchez, Rostagno, Steven, Stich, Sampras and





Fond embrace ... the new champion greets his trophy

Grand Slam first for Krajicek

ence is, you know, tough to put into words." Only slightly tougher than

attempting to analyse the significance of a men's champi onship in which the last few days, once the No. 1 seed and three-time champion Pete Sampras had disappeared, did indeed resemble the draw of a second-tier event somewhere in the remoter regions of

Eastern Europe. The winner of Washington versus Martin to play the winner of Krajicek versus Stoltenberg in the final? That hardly seemed a prospect to awaken the appetites of con-firmed tennis nuts, never mind of those whose minds turn to the game only for a single formight each year.

Yet the men's final created a genuine drama, even if it needed the suspense created. by the rain breaks — the leit-motif of the second week — to make it truly memorable. It was never going to be a clas-sic but Krajicek's play was of sufficiently high quality to justify his ownership of the Darkness at the other end. Darkness at the other end. Whenever something worked for him, he went into a little set of skipping steps to en-courage himself. When he ended a sequence of 14 win-ning points by Krajicek in the just arms of the thur set he great golden cup for the next year, while Washington's fierce though ultimately un-availing desire to make his mark clearly engaged the sympathies of the spectators. sixth game of the third set, he skipped practically the whole

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after Krajicek had served the opening game to love and then taken his opponent's ser-vice immediately with the it's tough to break. It puts everything on you to try and hold. When you're serving loss of only one point. like that, all you have to do is But Washington's commithold out the rest of the set and ment made a same of it, as did you're there." When Washington netted the final point, Krajicek said, he could not believe the conhis dignity and his refusel to hide behind the usual game-face antics beloved of those test was at an end. "I was un-believably happy — but then I feit, is the match really over? who take themselves too seriously. Struggling against the Dutchman's serve in the sixth game of the second set, Wash-For a split second I thought, am I making a fool of myself? ington saw the ball zip off the

But then nobody started laughing too much, so I thought I really must have won." There had been plenty of

ington saw the ball zip off the frame of his racket and end up, as it were, in the hands of first slip. He walked to the back of the court, asked the ball boy for the ball, and paced back across the base-line, holding the offending ob-ject in front of him and giving it a good talking-to, like the Prince of Denmark with poor Yorlck's skull. laughter earlier in the afternoon at this oddest of Wimble-dons, when the Centre Court was entertained by its first streaker, who ran the length of the court just before the Warm-up was due to begin, naked except for a small white apron which she lifted as she passed the players, who were standing on either Yorick's skuil. Poor Washington could do nothing about the Prince of side of the net for the photog-

"At least for me it put a smile on my face." Krajicek said. "It broke the tension a little bit." "Oh, man," Washington

said, a little more effusively. "Rich and I were standing there, getting our pictures there, getting our pictures taken, and out of the corner of my eye I see the crowd reac-tion and I see someone com-ing. I thought it was a photo-grapher at first. Then I see these ... you know, just wob-bling around, and Jeez. she smiled at me, and then, you know, she had on like an apron, and she lifted it up, and she was still smiling at me. Then I got flustered and me. Then I got flustered and three sets later, boom, I was gone. If she'd only run back, maybe I'd have had better luck."

Gallant loser . . . Washington looks to the heavens on a day he was brought to earth by Krajicek PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKINS

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Yesterday's results

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Men's Singles VICARIO (CZ/Sp. 1) 3-6, 7-6, 6-3. desweit/C J Mottram (GBI 6-2, 8-7, 5-4. (Aus) bt J R Brandt (Ger) 7-6, 6-3. Girls' Singles	blas
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Continued from ure given the man's un-

doubted ability. Even before this Wimble-don, and given his success in Italy and France, few gave him any sort of chance. But this was the year when the distinctly improbable became totally possible. "For a split second I thought 'am I mak-ing a fool of myself?" said Krajicek after he had struck

his final winning forehand. It was real enough. So he became the first Dutchman to win Wimbledon or any Grand Slam title. Tom Okker reached the US Open final in 1968, where he lost to another black American Arthur Ashe. Krajicek's win earned him

£392,500, although it was something a little different that lit up his eyes before the match began. Wimbledon's first streaker cavorted past both players as they stood at the net and the Dutchman admitted afterwards that her run had helped break the tension.

The All England Club was "Whilst we do not wish to condone the practice, it did at least provide some light amusement for our loyal and patient supporters, who have had a trying time during the recent bad weather," read their statement. Topless dancers and Sir Cliff next year

perhaps. Washington, aged 27 and ranked 20th in the world but with only one previous major quarter-final appearance in seven years of trying, saw the writing on the grass as early as the second game when Kra-jicek broke his serve. "Boring!" came a brief cry as Kra-jicek pummelled down three successive aces to make the score 5-2. But this was not the aridity of the Sampras-Ivani-sevic final of two years ago. "The trouble is that when you play a guy serving like Richard you can be 40-0 up on

is serve and even then he lasts four past you," said the hite-haired Pancho Segura, tho was regularly taken to be service cleaners by Pano Gonzales. The great showan was talking during the st of three rain breaks and ging Washington to step in ore often. Washington's game cerinly improved sharply dur-

ng the second set, although rajicek's serve was threat-ned only once — and then nly briefly. The American ras battling a surging tide nd was engulfed again in the inth game of the second set, aving two break points but of the third. The only element that could

we stopped the Dutchman as the weather. Washington anaged one break back in the aird set but this strangest of imbledons ended thankfully a ringing note of individual umph

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16 Five pages of unrivalled coverage Cricket Tennis TheGuardian International Atherton Graf remains first 50 summons a retort among unequals. to the chattering Stephen Bierley classes reports 13 14

Mixed blessings that recall the sunset evenings of youth



HE mixed doubles final will be played today. More than £100,000 is on the table -- £68,280 shared by the winners and £34,140 by the runners-up. The doubles flicker in the long shadows of evening sunlight at Wimbledon these days but they are big business. And business is business. After winning the men's doubles final on Saturday evening "the Woodies" stopped by to collect their brothers, who won on the trot cheque for £160,810 before anfrom 1897 to 1901. The Woodies

nouncing: "We just want to keep winning, so we can be-come part of history." In financial terms they already are. Since they teamed up in 1991 the Australians Mark Woodforde and Todd Woodbridge have shared more than £4 million in prize-money alone. This was their fourth Wimbledon title on the trot, a record for the century unless one includes the Doherty

compatriots John Newcombe and Tony Roche won three in a

row from 1968. During that hat-trick Newcombe appeared in two singles finals and Roche in one. They played doubles as a diversion and, as Roche said yesterday, "the four-man game was a ter-rific way to fine-tune your singles' reactions, your shot-making and your racket con-trol. After that it was fun". The old partners are still fine-tuning for fun and they

were put out of the over-45s quarter-finals on Friday by Ilie Nastase and Tom Okker. Lasting a day longer, until Saturday's semi-finals, was the romantics' team of Frew Mc-Millan and Bob Hewitt, who also won three Wimbledon titles over a remarkable 12-year span. "We just het un, changed and played," says Mc-Millan. "In all that time I don't think we once had dinner together.

most marvellous and, really, the most relevant. To some misogynists, of course, mixed is the Battle of the Sexes writ large — namely, and with any luck, 6-0, 6-0, 6-0. As the maestro of one-upmanship Stephen Potter had it: "In mixed, play to the rules, of which there are three: 1. Changing ends, mix up your game and know when to stand aside at the pet-post in more than the rule pet post in

order to allow your female opponent to come by first, and

equally when to allow her the minimum room to get by. 2. Know when to make a show of encouraging your part-ner and exclaiming 'Good

3. Know exactly when and how to apologise profusely to the female opponent for lobbing into the sun." Jack Kramer played Potter for real. He once said that, when his professional circus

toured the world in the Fifties, he usually had to play mixed

with Gussy Moran, long in leg and short in skirt and skill. Woe betide you if you failed to shout 'Good shot!' whenever she managed to get a ball back. which was rare." Kramer reckoned that the

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prime rule of mixed was "to lob to the lady opponent always. and to the precise spot on court where her gent cannot cheat, run round her and take it As in mixed, so in the hectic

three-setter of life and love

Tour de France

Indurain's sixth title slips away

William Fotheringhamon the wicked Alpine climbs that have ruined the champion's campaign

GENY BERZIN, the healthy Tour pedigrees such recocious Russian as Tony Rominger, Piotr rodigy who toppled Ugroumov, Riis and Richard precocious Russian prodigy who toppled Miguel Indurain in the 1994 Tour of Italy, finally came of age this weekend in the Alps. He will enter his adopted Italy in the maillot jaune today but is by no means certain to hang on to the overall lead.

The race is poised for an-other showdown in today's massive mountain stage to the Sestriere ski resort. the Sestriere ski resort. the order again and so it though it it possible snow will force the stage to be re-routed. reduced to sk riders. force the stage to be re-routed. The blond Russian's experi-

ence of the Alps last year was mostly gained from within his team car after he quit. This year has been different altogether: on Saturday Berzin merely observed, in as much comfort as is possible while riding 125 miles over montre

rera team-mates Marco Pan-tani and Claudio Chiappucci, Virenque — were covered by 1min 2sec. Saturday's sensational stage may have put paid to Laurent Jalabert, Boardman, Heulot and Indurain but the yellow jersey was

very much up for grabs. Yesterday's mountain timealmost five minutes adrift. trial, up the valley road from While he should never be Bourg Saint Maurice to Val d'Isère, was bound to shuffle underestimated, at an equivalent point in each of his five Tour wins Indurain has been

Berzin's victory was con-vincing but not enough to de-stroy the hopes of Riis, who confirmed the progress he made last year, when he gave ken men. Chris Boardman is also digging deep. He took a more than creditable eighth place yesterday, demonstrating im-Indurain a few nervous mo-ments in the first contre la pressive recovery after his massive time loss of Satur-

German is a Tour novice. In sixth place is a dark horse, Peter Luttemberger of Aus-tria, who came from nowhere to win the Tour of Switzer-land last month. Like his Car-

he is capable of great things in the mountains and could spring a surprise today. Berzin has included Indurain in his list of dangermen-but that may have been out of politeness: after dropping another minute yesterday, the five-times winner is now 11th,

in the yellow jersey, well ahead and with his rivals bro-



Tour enjoys boom

Mark Redding on why the great race can afford to reject pay-per-view offers

OUCH potatoes worldwide can rest easy: the Tour de France has no intention of going pay-per-view. Approaches have been made from cable television in the United States, sparking fears that future coverage in Europe could go down the pay-per-view route, but the organisers this week prom-ised to remain firmly an-chored to the major networks. "We want our exposure to be as wide as mercials" be as wide as possible." said Yann Le Moenner, in charge of international sales for ASO of Paris, the company that oversees the Tour de France. "It is the only event that has so many spectators and we want it to remain free."

The American approaches have been rebuffed and Le Moenner said that, with three years to run on the present contract, there was no chance of a change of heart — and no wonder. The TV exposure is p by 20 per cent this year and is being seen by 150 countries "from". in Le Moenner's words, "Vietnam to Mexico, Australia to the United States". He was unable to say how many people watched it and was unwilling to say how much advertising revenue it brought in. But he did know Sames that TV crews from 32 coun-tries would join 71 radio stations and the two public broadcast channels France 2 broadcast channels France 2 and 3 — which provide the main feed — to help maintain the tradition of Tour coverage once heralded by a crowing cockerel on Pathé newsreels. In Britain the Tour has be-come associated with the ex-cellent highlights package shown each evening on Chanshown each evening on Chan-nel 4. The producer Brian Venner cut his teeth on Grandstand and that BBC pedigree shows: his VTV company, which supplies the highlights, has taken the in-dustry's independent award for best sports programme for the past three years. PETER DEJONG The blood, sweat and tears in The show's mix of action, features, crashes and lourism pulls in a healthy audience for Channel 4 of 1.5 million. This is on top of the 600,000 or so who watch the unedifying coverage of Eurosport, which is transmitting the event live this year for the first time. So when "Lights, cameras, So when "Lights, cameras, action!" is called on Stage 9 of the Tour in Val-d'Isère today, it will not just be Miguel In-durain flying by the seat of his pants. Back in the Chan-nel 4 studios Vènner will be rushing around in the two make them sit awkwardly on the bike, causing compensarushing around in the two tory injuries. Heulot's tendinitis made it-self feit as he climbed the Madeleine but his true calhours between the end of the stage and the programme's transmission, trying to find out who has shot what. vaire came on the Cormet de That means pasting Roselend, where the pain be-came so intense that he was forced to quit in tears. The together a collage comprising pictures from the main feed, shots from other countries' crews, and film taken from the back of a provide the taken from last time a maillot jaune withdrew during a stage was in 1983, when Pascal Simon of the back of a roving motorbike by his on the spot cameraman Glenn Wilkinson. Venner also has to find a way of dealing with the myr-iad unexpected disasters that can occur. In 1988 Wilkinson was taken hostage by irate Frenchmen after His driver bent a spectator's bicycle and he was not released until the damage had been paid for. Then there was the flasco in 1992, when Wilkinson was looking forward to unwinding after the usual demanding day. "I was lying in my bed in fate, losing 12 minutes, but San Sebastian and about two in the morning I heard shouting," he said. "I saw some flickering and looked out the window and our cars went whoooooosh." Channel 4's vans had been torched by Basque separatists.

three mountains in pouring rain, while Bjarne Riis's Tele-kom team took the race apart and Indurain suffered his worst few minutes in any of the last six Tours.

By Saturday evening Berzin led the race but there was no margin for error. Remarkthree minutes. Also in the frame is Roably, after almost 1,000 miles' racing. Abraham Olano of Spain, the current world minger, one minute eight seconds back. He and Olano are team mates and good champion, was in the same time and the Russian held the yellow jersey only because he had finished 0.16sec ahead of friends and will look to attack Berzin in turns if he falters. Olano in the prologue time trial a week earlier. Riis may be able to rely on his

trial a week earlier. Behind these two the top 10 including men with the same task but, at 22, the

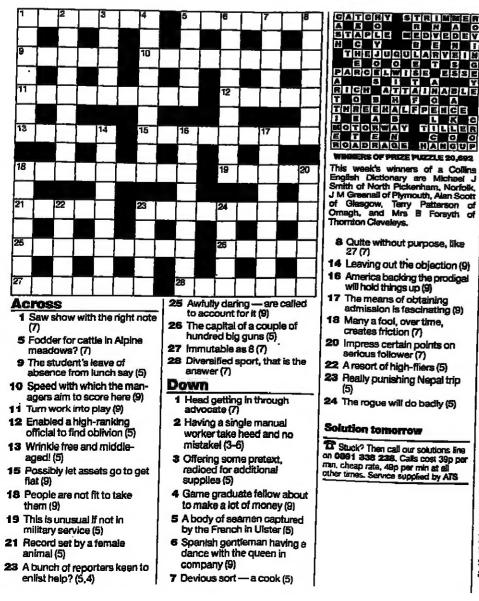
Olano confirmed hopes that and am not particularly e may be Spain's next great pleased but it is better than he may be Spain's next great stage-race rider by dropping only 45 seconds. He and Riis yesterday," he said. Now half an hour behind, he is deterare now, respectively, 43 and 45 seconds behind Berzin, mined to get to Paris and is hoping that he may be given leeway to bid for a stage win margins which are put into perspective by the fact that in three desperate kilometres on and to attempt to move up towards the top 20. Unlike Boardman, Jalabert did not Saturday Indurain lost over recover from his travails of Saturday.

Today will see more dam-age. The weather forecast is, predictably, cold and wet. • Today's stage: Val d'Isère-Sestriere, 190km.

Willem Fotheringham is features editor of Cycling

Guardian Crossword No 20,699

Set by Crispa



the rain for the Tour cyclists William Fotheringham in Val d'Isère on a weather-hit week that saw 40 withdrawals T WAS the first of many sobering sights over the weekend: on Saturday morn-we are eating like pigs, as ing most of the field scram-bled for shelter from a torrenquick as we can every night.

tial rain shower five minutes before the start of the 200-kilometre stage from Chambery to Les Arcs. They ran for trees, cars, the podium where they sign on each day: any port in this storm. It must have struck each man that, if they thought the last week of crashes, torren-tial rain and stress had been hell, they had been kidding themselves. The road south merely purgatory: hell lay in

danger aplenty since the race the American Lance Arm-left Holland six days earlier. strong had a close encounter Headwinds meant that stages scheduled to finish during television prime time ended when riders would normally be receiving massage or eating dinner. The wind led to fears of crashes as the rain year's surprise climber — battered down every day. "It has rained more in five days | riding. than in the last five Tours," said Miguel Indurain's mancompared to Saturday's epic. ager Jose Miguel Echavarri. | On Alpine climbs such as the

met de Roselend, suffering is prolonged in cold rain, while 60-miles-per-hour descents in blinding spray have taken on a new resonance since the o death last year — on a fine new resonance since the the last year — on a fine t a new resonance since the death last year — on a fine dry day — of Fabio Casartelli. It was no surprise then to see Zülle — one of the Tour's more accident-prone riders and just go to our rooms. I'm taking pills to sleep. There are rumours that the stages finish covered in grazes after two slips, one of which took will finish later next year: if him into a ditch. It was

they do, I won't be here." The stress mounted as the plle-ups happened, and fights Zülle's third smash in three days. Johan Bruyneel's crash was heart-stopping: the Bel-

Slippery slope . . . Indurain feels the strain during yesterday's individual time-trial to Val d'Isère

The Belgian went straight on at a left-hand bend and flew into from 's-Hertogenbosch was a ravine, followed by his bike

the next 125 miles. There had been stress and broke out among the riders: | gian went straight on at a lefthand bend, rode between a large rock and a crash barrier with the Frenchman Gilles and flew into a ravine, fol-lowed by his bike. His fall was Bouvard, which he put down to "the nerves of the race". broken by a tree, and he clamwhile Andrei Tchmil of Rusbered back up to finish 20th sia and Peter Luttenberger of and in a state of shock.

There had been speculation over the long-term effects of the rain and stress, and they began to be seen on Saturday. Stephane Heulot, the maillot joune, was just one of many riders suffering from tendini-Alex Zülle summed up the | Col de la Madeleine and Cor- | tis caused by the wet and

France rode for several days with a fractured shoulder. Chris Boardman and Lau-rent Jalabert also waved goodbye to their chances on the Roselend, as Boardman finished 29 minutes off the pace. "I have never been close to tears on the bike before,"

he said, "but, when I saw the group go, that was it, all my chances of glory disappeared up the road." Jalabert suffered a similar

*1-5 42 4.14

the biggest shock was Indur-ain's demise just two miles from the top of the climb to

the finish in Les Arcs. Fourty riders have left the Tour in seven days and more will follow if the heat arrives this week.



and Sharrook Ristd Correspond

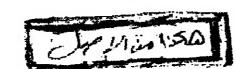


John Carvel Education Editor

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